

THE DISCOURSE OF DEVELOPMENT:  
THE CONTROL OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CULTURES

by  
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# ABSTRACT

This thesis focusses on the various levels involved in the development process with particular attention to a Quechua speaking community in the Andes in Southern Bolivia in which several development projects are being implemented.

The process of development involves the identification of problems, the setting of certain goals, and the provisions of certain means to achieve what is perceived as a change which will go towards solving the identified problems. However, for this process to work from the outset it assumes the groups of people involved share the same interpretation of the terms and criteria to identify the problems, of the problems themselves, of the need for the type of change intended and of the preconceptions and aims in general.

This thesis considers that this situation is a great deal more complicated. It explores the extent to which there is understanding, conflict and miscommunication about the relevant concepts, ideas and assumptions on the part of those differentially involved in and affected by the development process. Since 'development' involves political and cultural interests of different groups questions are raised concerning the relationship between economic goals, power, communication and translation. It is precisely because of these that the discourse approach to development is considered relevant.

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thesis would go towards contributing to a deeper understanding of their way of life among those who are involved in and dedicated to trying to achieve improvements.

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## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The underlined words in the text refer to the Spanish terms used unless otherwise indicated. The abbreviation (Que.) denotes Quechuan terms.

## INTRODUCTION

Broadly speaking this thesis has three foci: a Quechua speaking community in the Andes in Southern Bolivia in which several development projects are being implemented, the 'developers' who carry these out, and the inter-relationships between them.

The process of development involves the identification of 'problems', the setting of certain goals, and the provisions of certain means to achieve a 'change' which will go towards solving the identified problems. However, for this process to work from the outset it assumes the groups of people involved share the same interpretation of the terms and criteria used to identify the problems, of the problems themselves, of the need for the type of change intended and of the preconceptions and aims in general. This thesis will show that this situation, as examined in the area I studied, is a great deal more complicated than is suggested by this simple model which is frequently assumed by some groups involved in the development process.

The groups I studied were less than homogeneous. 'Developers' comprise staff in the headquarters of a development agency, the donors, including evaluation personnel (most of whom are located in Western Europe) and professionals, administrative workers and fieldstaff in Bolivia. Many of these groups and individual staff members even within the same organization have different views and assumptions about the work itself and the approaches. The style



and content of their written and oral expression used when addressing donors are intended to contain a 'translation', adaptation, and interpretation of the 'target groups' needs and interests . When addressing the latter they intend to convey, introduce, and provide the means by which the intended change can or should be achieved. Addressing donors on the one hand and the 'target groups' on the other therefore involves different styles and contents which have their own implicit and explicit assumptions, and at the same time an assumed shared goal of 'development'. Amongst the Quechua campesinos, to take but one example, there are younger men who act as agents for various development institutions and who are able to include elements of development projects in the daily local activities and relations with campesinos. There are older men who are ascribed a position of authority and who are recognised in the area as sources of knowledge about the world and ways of dealing within it.

The two-fold distinction between developers and campesinos is therefore made for the sake of clarity, but no homogeneity or discrete entity is assumed in either. On the contrary, as implied above, a divergence of views, ideas and concepts in relation to, for example, 'development', 'advance', and 'liberation' occurs within and across the various groups outlined.

The thesis will explore the extent to which there is understanding, conflict and miscommunication about the relevant concepts, ideas and assumptions on the part of those differentially involved in and affected by the development process. Since the development process I studied involves political and cultural interests of different groups the thesis raises questions of the

relationship between economic goals, power, communication and translation.

This Introduction has three main sections. The first explains why the theoretical notion of 'discourse' is considered appropriate and relevant for this study. The second provides the scene in Bolivia in general and the area of fieldwork in particular in relation to 'development'. The final section goes into some detail to explain the methodology used for this study and the advantages and constraints of undertaking such a study in my own country.

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

##### Why Discourse as an Approach to Development

A large proportion of the work on development has concentrated on relatively few perspectives. Economic factors and politico-economic relations have been singled out to a disproportionate extent. This emphasis may stem in part from the importance of a Western paradigm which stresses 'rationality' and conceives of the control over nature by means of 'reason' alone.

These approaches to development have a tendency to leave many important and crucial questions unanswered, inadequately discussed or not even raised at all. Social aspects are often given a secondary role. Theoretical analyses of development have a strong influence in the formulation of policy in development projects and on the way development is considered by those in development agencies. Although variations exist, a certain theoretical framework affects decisions made in terms of what are considered problems and what course of action is necessary. Sometimes

solutions are found before problems are identified, in the sense that solutions are discussed on the basis of assumed problems within a certain community, region or class of producers. A clear example of this is the way the 'Alliance for Progress' programme was set up for Latin American countries in the early 1960s and the solutions it sought to provide. The problems were identified in the first place within a North American way of thinking of political and economic issues. The degree to which this programme was accepted in the initial years reflects the strong influence of this paradigm and of the power relations of the time bearing on Latin American leaders and elites.

Many of the groups identified in this study belong to different cultures not only demarcated by geographical distance but also by different historical traditions within the same nation. Relations within and between these groups linked by the process of development clearly involve more than economic factors and go beyond politico-economic relations. It is my view that Discourse as an approach to 'development' stresses areas within this process which are often neglected or considered as secondary. Precisely because such development involves the political and cultural interests of different groups it was not appropriate to confine myself to a traditional detailed study of a single community undergoing development. Questions had to be raised of power, communication and translation between a wide range of groups and levels not usually encountered in an anthropological study.

For the sake of clarity, I shall call the first stage of the examination of the relation between power, action and language 'Discourse I'. In Political Language and Oratory in Traditional

Societies (1975), Bloch suggests formalised speech can be a means of control and of maintaining power. Following this line formalised speech is assessed as a means of control. The relation between what is said and what is done and how control is exercised in the community is examined. Close attention is paid to language at community meetings and during development project courses for 'beneficiaries'. Parkin's (1976) analysis in terms of the inter-relationship between conventional activities, cultural ideas and key words is also relevant. Parkin, like Bloch, closely links key verbal concepts with formalised speech. Both centred on political use of language and on how this could stifle the exchange and expression of new ideas and maintain the status quo. Parkin, however, stresses how ambivalence of key concepts over time may allow contradictory ideas to be expressed. Key verbal concepts such as 'development', 'participation', 'liberation', and 'change' are used by the various parties as if their meaning were homogeneous. Parkin's approach is useful in contexts where different ideas and values are implied by different groups while using the same key verbal concepts.

Parkin's approach demonstrates the close connection between words, ideas, values and actions. The importance of language is shown as a means of understanding change, power relations and values within a community. Language is not considered per se but as it expresses and relates to other aspects of village life, and how these in turn relate to language.

But there is a need to go further. What I shall call Discourse II relates more to the assumptions which underlie power relations, actions, values and ideas expressed and taken for granted in Discourse I. What these assumptions' are, and to what

extent these are shared by each group, is discussed in the following eight chapters. The kinds of assumptions held by different members of the community and held by the various groups among the 'developers' are identified. Examination of these is considered important since identification and deeper understanding of these illuminates problems of communication and translation between the various parties involved in the process of 'development'.

The concept of discourse deployed by Foucault may also help in this analysis. For Foucault, discourse is not at the level of speech. "A statement belongs to a discursive formation as a sentence belongs to a text... and the regularity of statements is defined by the discursive formation itself" (1972:116). Discursive formations frame the ways in which knowledge, language and actions can be understood in any historical period. Discourse is not stable. By virtue of its contradictions and internal logic on the one hand and processes of power on the other, transformation takes place. The ways in which a discursive practice may be maintained may be by the search for 'truth' (or the exclusion of some discourses as products of madness or unreason). There may also be internal procedures which classify, order and thus limit what is considered appropriate. Foucault suggests that what is analysed is not what is thought per se but all the discursive rules and categories that are a priori assumed as constituent parts of the discourse. These are characterised by a delimitation of a field of objects, a definition of a legitimate perspective, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories. And thus, to think outside these is to be beyond comprehension and 'reason'. In

the context of 'development', basic assumptions about 'human nature' and 'change' frame the discursive practice.

So, for example, what necessary change is identified within a development project, and what is held to be a reasonable action in order to achieve such change, and what constitutes a legitimate view and argument in relation to change is determined by one or more given discursive practices. The assumptions underlying answers to these questions shape the arguments put across by, for example, development institutions. In this way alternative arguments and views are excluded as being beyond comprehension or outside 'reason'. It is interesting to note in a document outlining the policy of a Dutch private development agency that they conceive of 'development' as "a process which enlarges the action space for persons and groups in our society. This description does not limit development to the poor countries of the Third World but recognises that development is a process which encompasses all countries and societies". An underlying assumption here is that of the need for development and the more general presumptions that this is an intrinsic feature of all societies and that the process has some kind of pre-existing goal. Furthermore, no allowance is made for an alternative view of (or a rejection of) development as a "process which encompasses all", so choice is eliminated at the start. One could equally question what is meant by "a process which enlarges the action-space". The implication is ambivalent. One implicit assumption here is that of growth as a desirable means to achieve a given goal. By implication this is one the West is closer to attaining or is in a better position to define.

As is analysed in later chapters, the staff of 'counterpart' organizations (Bolivian development institutions through which funds are channelled for particular projects) do not always share these assumptions. Nevertheless, these institutions are often perceived as 'intermediaries', or as 'partners' who are expected, on the one hand, to 'transmit' and 'translate' the 'premises' and 'needs' of the 'beneficiaries' to donor agencies in, for example, Western Europe. On the other hand, they are expected through their 'knowledge' and expertise to meet requests which respond to the needs of beneficiaries and which constitute the raison d'être of the projects. The extent to which the various groups in 'counterpart' institutions share assumptions with their 'beneficiaries' is examined together with the effects of such discrepancies on development projects and on communities receiving such projects.

Discourse is significant not only for what it includes but also for what it excludes. This is not only relevant from a historical point of view, but also in terms of what 'facts' are included or ignored in an assessment of a given situation. Scott (1985), for instance, makes the point that 'facts' of poverty and affluence are distorted to serve the purpose of the village leader and in this way derides village leadership. The village leader presents facts in such a way as to argue that the poor in the village are responsible for their own poverty. Frequently 'failure' in development projects is attributed to the prevalence of 'traditional' beliefs and practices which are considered to be in conflict with 'modern', 'innovative' practices. Development workers are in a position to identify, 'rectify', 'rationalize' ideas and

practices of 'beneficiaries' in their analyses of the situation of the latter and in the content of development projects.

Turton (1983) suggests that ideology operates as discourse. By taking Thai ethnography as an example he shows the extent to which Thai peasants are denied their own consciousness. One of the examples he gives is an address by radio to peasants as ladies and gentlemen, most respected listeners (ibid:43). This is symptomatic of ways in which they are divested of their right to speak and act as distinct and differentiated agents. The possibility of protest becomes framed as inappropriate rather than simply illegitimate. Their poverty and alienation does not fit in with the more widely articulated view of an integrated nation.

I have attempted to convey at the outset some of the complexities and uses of an approach through the notion of discourse and to suggest its relevance for a study which by its very nature deals with differing cultures and subcultures (for want of a better term) running inbetween. The meeting of differing ideas and values as provoked by the introduction of development projects in the area of fieldwork requires an analysis of power relations, exchange of values, translation of ideas and language, as well as a meeting or clash of assumptions. The following chapters assess the extent to which communication between the various levels of development takes place or does not. They examine the various discursive practices highlighting areas where they concur, conflict or pass one another by; the extent to which one dominates or excludes the other and why; and the implications of these for the various parties, their purposes and interests.



#### THE SCENE OF FIELDWORK

This section starts by giving an overview of development trends in Bolivia in the last two decades, and the directions these have taken and why. Secondly, a broad account is given of the scene as I saw it and in the places I visited. Thirdly, the local scene is presented in greater focus and the reasons for its choice are given.

Bolivia is predominantly a rural society, the majority of whose population is only marginally integrated into the national economy. According to Klein (1982), of all economically active persons in the census of 1950, 72 per cent were engaged in agriculture and allied industries. Yet this work force only produced some 33 per cent of the gross national product. Klein suggests that the reason for this "backwardness in agriculture" was the constant expansion of the hacienda (estate) system at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Alongside this, the Bolivian economy has been affected by world market conditions since the sixteenth century until today at least in relation to mineral exports. Recent trends in world tin stocks and prices has led to the closure of major public tin mines, with drastic consequences for thousands of miners left unemployed and migrating to non-mining areas. This is a further example of international changes in supply and demand being felt immediately in a national economy which until recently depended almost totally on mineral exports to earn foreign currency.

Successive Governments in Bolivia have until recently given almost exclusive attention and resources in terms of 'development' to the mining sector. From the late 1960s and particularly during

the 1970s development plans have favoured the eastern region of Bolivia, particularly the plans to boost agricultural production of the Department of Santa Cruz.

It is suggested by Klein (1982) and Pike (1977) that many of the moves of the Government in power following the 1952 Revolution (see Chapter One) were prompted by a plan to overcome problems of underdevelopment through industrialization. The aim was for urban labourers to increase their purchasing power by an increase in salaries. The land reform in 1953 was also a move in this direction so as to increase the purchasing power of the rural population, which had hitherto laboured for others without wages. It is worth noting that these policies for overcoming 'underdevelopment problems' were based on the United States development theory. Many theoreticians within the ruling party were educated in the United States. As will be shown in Chapter One a large proportion of Bolivian development plans during the decade of the 1950s was based on the findings of visiting United States 'missions' which made analyses and recommendations according to their own criteria. These were highly influential in establishing the discursive practices in relation to 'development programmes' in Bolivia. It is significant to note the increase in United States aid to Bolivia during those decades. By 1954 the assistance programme had expanded considerably and served to underpin the MNR or Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (Nationalista Revolutionary Movement) Government (Wilkie, 1969). By 1957, 32 per cent of the Bolivian treasury revenue came from USAID. The Bolivian Central Government became dependent upon budgetary support from USAID for all its social programmes. By 1962 United States aid

moving "as fast as possible to fashion their form of government after our own"<sup>2</sup>. Pike suggests that this view still filters through in North American dealings with Latin American countries, and that there is still commitment to the idea that the life of others should be changed in accordance with the North American model.

This division between modern and traditional in turn coincides with a model of development and underdevelopment which treats development as a spontaneous process occurring in every society, albeit to different degrees, and one which goes in a particular direction. In this model, development is synonymous with growth and specialization. A metaphor used is that of an 'organism' reaching maturity. A further implication in this model is that development can be accelerated by external stimulation, namely Government measures which support certain more 'modern' sectors of the economy while 'changing' the so-called 'traditional' sectors. The implication here is that those stubborn traditional sectors are conceptualized as being anti-development. Therefore, "tradition" acts as a hindrance to advance and to innovation. The discursive pattern is thus set on these grounds and excludes, negates and silences others on the grounds of being 'backward', 'anti-development', and a hindrance to an expanding economic growth which, if allowed to flourish, would benefit all.

Later trends in models of development which were influential in Bolivia, particularly among private development institutions, in the late 1960s and 1970s, focussed on causes for underdevelopment as not being local but rather linked to international relations. Local underdevelopment is a symptom of neocolonial structures with

the capitalist system as the main disease. These conditions may cause change, but not necessarily development. Two significant trends in Bolivia coincide with this model during these years: a mushrooming of private development institutions focussed primarily on rural areas in western Bolivia (neglected by successive Governments - see Chapter Five) and the prominent emergence of the cocaine trade. Although this latter trend is not given prominence in this thesis, it is worth noting that it has had an impact on the area of fieldwork in at least on two respects. On the one hand it has provided a more remunerative form of temporary employment in the coca growing areas and on the other it has on occasions caused severe scarcity and rising prices of coca leaves in many areas.

#### General Overview of the Development Scene

Development institutions had mushroomed in many cities in Bolivia to an extent which I had not foreseen prior to fieldwork. As outlined above, some began to function in the late 1960s but most were set up during the 1970s. Their general characteristics are given in the chapter on Development Themes. What I wish to present here is a general panorama of some of these institutions and their relationships with one another.

These institutions have been set up by a variety of sectors: religious, political, human rights interests, academic, or related to sindicatos and various other groups generally working with popular sectors. Their aims are equally varied. Broadly speaking they aim to achieve local and regional 'development', to strengthen the social organization of the groups with whom they are working, and most follow methods related to 'popular education'.

Most work mainly with communities in the rural areas and deprived sectors in the cities. More recently for some work has extended to the mining areas. Their heterogeneous actions have, despite many of the problems discussed in later chapters, made a contribution towards a greater understanding of national issues: i.e., those concerning economic relations and structures, the relations of the State with different sectors of the population, sindicato movements, and general movements and trends of the 'popular sectors'.

Their methods and approaches have changed and developed through the years. In the 1960s most institutions were concerned with providing a political support, particularly to the labour movement with the aim of resisting authoritarian Governments and working towards achieving a democratic system. 'Democracy' was perceived almost as a panacea for the economic and political problems of the country. However, when 'democracy' was finally reached many of the expectations met with disappointment among many sectors. The type of 'democracy' achieved is what is referred to as restringida (restricted). Coupled with this is the increasing deterioration of material conditions among the majority of the population. The so-called 'popular movement' is divided and unable to find a clear direction. The strategies utilized in the 1960s and 1970s are now in conflict with new and changing conditions and many institutions are working towards achieving 'change' within the long term rather than the short term, and frequently without a clear direction or purpose. A problem connected with this and frequently voiced by many institutions was their neglect in the past (and to some extent in the present) to make a systematic recording of their experiences. This they claim has influenced their frequent ad hoc

decisions and actions. Very often their projects and actions are experimental without being able to gauge fully the results, let alone the consequences.

One striking characteristic is the rivalry that exists between some of the development institutions. The sources for this rivalry vary from financial (i.e. source of funds), ideological, methodological to geographical. This rivalry often leads, from the point of view of institutions, to those which work in the same geographical area to maintain a distance from one another without any form of cooperation or knowledge of what the other may be doing other than through gossip. From the communities' point of view it often leads to divisions and sometimes conflicts between dirigentes and promotores.

Ideological differences are the most frequently cited causes and are said by the institutions themselves to lead to differences of methodology and approach. Ideological differences can be also present within the same institutions. I was told of several cases when institutions were forced to split into distinct entities as a result of irreconcilable ideological differences.

Sources of funding are linked to ideological positions. For example, some institutions refuse to accept funding from North American sources. Several institutions remarked on the fact that these sources of funding were unsympathetic and inflexible to local conditions. Furthermore, these donors were dogmatic as to the content and direction of projects. Donors from European countries are said to be more understanding and flexible to local conditions. An explanation for the distinction between European and North American behaviour as donors was given to me by a staff member in a

donor agency in Holland, who suggested ironically that Europeans had a tradition through their colonial history for dealing with Third World countries, which the North Americans lacked. The extent and importance of ideological leanings varies from institution to institution and from donor to donor. Some institutions, for example, receive funds from political parties who in turn rely for finance on sympathetic political parties from abroad. The extent of adherence to the ideology of the party is a criterion for recruitment of staff to these institutions.

Broadly speaking the development institutions I visited in the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and Sucre fall into the following categories:

- a. private institutions under the auspices of the Catholic Church (including subcategories such as institutions under the umbrella of the Jesuit Order). Some of these may include the auspices of other non-Catholic churches, such as the Methodist or Lutheran and so on.
- b. private institutions with no stated auspices;
- c. private institutions under the auspices of political parties;
- d. private institutions under the auspices of private enterprise;

e. private institutions under the umbrella  
Fundamentalist Evangelical Groups;

f. Government institutions;

Briefly each can be given the following characteristics:

a. Although they are under the umbrella of the Catholic and other Christian Churches most staff members are lay and not necessarily members of the Church. Most of the running of the institution is done by the latter, although the Churches reserve, on occasions, the right to veto. Their projects do not contain religious teachings per se. Ideological plurality is accepted, but a large proportion of their courses for staff are based on Marxist analyses. Professional staff (social scientists) have a marked influence on the written content of projects. Their kinds of projects are varied, i.e. related to agricultural production, to organization, to health, to women, and so on.

b. Ideologically these share basis of analyses with those in category (a). Many of these have the support of academics as staff members or consultants. Professional staff in the higher echelons also have a strong influence on written content of projects. Both (a) and (b) involve all staff members in general



discussions on projects and about campesinos in general. Projects here also tend to be under different rubrics.

c. Staff members in the higher positions tend to be members of the political parties. Affiliation to particular ideologies is more heavily stressed. Projects focus more on the in-depth training of promotores. Health promotores for example, underwent three years training, similarly promotores dealing with agricultural 'production' and 'organization'.

d. These projects tended to concentrate on rural areas close to the larger urban centres. Those involved with communities away from rural areas devoted attention to 'cooperatives' and the general administration of these. The equipping of the cooperative shops in towns was also part of their concern. Staff in these institutions were frequently criticised (by their own staff members as well as outsiders) for running their institutions as 'businesses', i.e. where decisions came from managers alone with very little input from staff on lower levels.

e. A large proportion of staff in these institutions are from abroad, particularly North America. Local staff is mostly support staff. 'Moral behaviour' and 'bible readings' were said to form part of their projects.

f. These were the largest in terms of number of staff employed and areas covered. The Government distributes its resources and programmes for 'development' from the Ministry of Planning and Coordination and through the Development Corporation in each Department of the country. These were set up in the 1970s, and are well known for their "failures" and "wastefulness" of resources due to "ineptitude" and favouring political clientele in appointments to posts. They are said to favour short term projects, since "no one knows how long the Minister is likely to last". Appointments tend to be based on political affiliations which coincide with the political party in power.

Although differences between institutions do exist, there has been a recent tendency - particularly following a severe drought in 1983 - towards the formation of coalitions of institutions, at least for the execution of specific projects. For example, the severity of the drought lead several institutions in categories (a), (b) and (c) to join together to carry out a large project which extended over several Departments in the country. Each institution implemented the same project, but within its own areas of operation. Encouraged by the positive results in terms of high number of communities participating in the project and the higher levels of production achieved in some areas, these institutions agreed to continue with the project even after the critical period following the drought.

Although cooperation between these institutions is generally perceived positively, they continue to come across problems which they identify in terms of differences of ideology, methodology, and approach. The differences, however, are such that most institutions consider some form of cooperation is nonetheless possible. Cooperation between these institutions and those in categories (d), (e) and (f) is frequently considered impossible on the grounds that communication would not be achieved, and hence no common basis ever be agreed upon. The presence of institutions of category (e) is particularly marked in some areas of Cochabamba and La Paz, immediately manifest in terms of available resources such as jeeps, pick-up trucks, and offices. I was told by staff members of other institutions that in some areas in Cochabamba, projects run by the institutions are causing severe divisions within the communities. In one community some of its members "participate" in a project run by an institution which stresses "unity in the community" and stronger sindicatos, while other members in the same community are "drawn into" a project which stresses "individualism" and an "entrepreneurial mentality".

Many institutions in categories (a), (b), (c), and (d), regard their task as responding to the neglect by Government of rural areas in the western regions. This neglect is perceived by some institutions, particularly those in categories (a), (b) and (c), to extend to the exclusion of options of alternative forms of 'development' to those promoted by the Government. In other words, sometimes these institutions see themselves and are seen as providing 'alternative forms of development'. Their notions and conceptions of, for example, 'self-sufficiency', 'participation',

'development' and 'welfare' are often seen to come into conflict with concepts of national interests (for example, 'stronger integration') as against goals of better distribution of resources between different regions and groups within the 'national' society. Thus decisions within these institutions are influenced not only by their own policies, based on their local analyses and a 'dialogue' with their donors, but also by official policies and powerholders' own interests.

#### The Local Scene

The Department of Chuquisaca has been one of the most neglected areas in terms of 'development' from the point of view of Government interest and deployment of resources. The capital city of the Department, Sucre - the former seat of the government of the nation in the early decades of the Republic - is now largely a university centre with very few industries. Its narrow valleys and undulating mountains and hills make large-scale agricultural production difficult.

The most visible presence in terms of development institutions is the Government Development Corporation. This covers the widest geographical area in the Department and has the largest number of staff vehicles. Private development institutions in Chuquisaca also have their headquarters in Sucre. They include all

the categories listed above. The largest and most long standing are those in categories (a) and (c). Their methods and approach have changed since they began in the late 1960s. Initially they began by giving priority 'education'. Programmes of alfabetizacion (teaching of reading and writing skills for adults) were initially prominent. These institutions hired mainly rural teachers as fieldstaff. Although their priorities of approach have changed, the composition of their fieldstaff has not.

Those institutions in category (a) arrange six to seven meetings every year to foster cooperation and the sharing of experiences. According to staff in different institutions these meetings have become a formality which does not provide a solid basis for any form of cooperation. Their approaches and methodology are said to vary to such an extent that cooperation does not go beyond mere discussion of possible ways and means of cooperation. Cooperation with the Government Corporation is said to be unrealistic for two reasons. First, their bureaucratic requirements are such that plans and time-tables are constantly postponed and altered. Second, the policies themselves are said to be prone to repeated alterations and replanning, consequent on the staff changes which frequently correspond to changes in the Ministry of Planning.

In Sucre the institutions in category (e) are in a minority. I visited only one of these there. Their most recent and priority project is a housing scheme project for communities. The institution provides the construction materials and the campesinos build the houses according to the institution's design. The houses are designed to be next to one another in a row simulating a town street. Each house has two rooms and a cooking area. When I spoke

to campesinos in one community who were preparing for construction, they told me that they did not care much for the houses themselves because there was no provision for their animals. But the advantages were expressed in terms the possibility of acquiring piped water for each house and, in time, electricity, the great advantage of which was perceived to be the possibility of having television. This institution operated in areas close to Sucre. Their housing project I was told provided the means to reach campesinos and "to help them help themselves". It further provided a means to ensure they received Christian guidance. Some staff boastfully told me many men were no longer drinking now and were working more productively. Their accounts as they were presented to me gave no room for self-questioning or self-criticism of their activities in the communities.

Other institutions in Sucre regarded the above-mentioned with a great deal of critical cynicism. What they were doing, as far as they could tell, was creating divisions within communities and introducing a 'individualistic' mentality.

The largest private institutions in Sucre come under categories (a), (c), and (d). The first and last also have projects in other southern Departments in Bolivia. The one sponsored by a political party was more recently set up than the other two. It has a large health project which has hospital and training facilities for health promotores in a three-year programme. It also has an agricultural production project.

The largest institution in category (a) states that it was founded in order to "serve towards the promocion del campesino". Their initial justification for their work as stated in written

reports is derived from conditions prevalent among campesinos; above all, high infant mortality (60 per cent) and lack of primary education (62 per cent of adults cannot read or write). The institution seeks to promote the liberation of campesinos in Bolivia, encouraging local development. Promoting liberation is explained in the following terms: "acquiring of consciousness and understanding of their own (campesino) reality, together with new life styles, technical knowledge and efficient grass roots organizations which aim to shape a new mentality of change, a new hierarchy of values so that they may seek cultural, social and economic progress of their communities, and reach an active participation in the national context" (source: a publication of this institution).

The largest institution in category (d) also states that its work is directed towards the promocion del campesino. They seek to encourage a critical consciousness among campesinos of their economic, social and cultural reality, and encourage appropriate action to transform their situation. Furthermore, they aim to encourage cooperativism in communities so that it may encourage the participation of campesinos in national life. More specific aims relate to the formation of leaders in the administration of cooperatives and the conscientization of leaders and members of cooperative toward their rights and duties within cooperatives. Furthermore, they aim to encourage a larger participation in the Canton and Province starting from cooperative action in the communities.

These last two institutions have projects in the area in which I conducted fieldwork. Their methods and approaches have the following similarities and differences:

Similarities in the local approach and ideology:

- both execute their projects with promotores (young men from communities in the area - they are described more fully in later chapters).
- both use an 'extensive' as opposed to 'intensive' approach, i.e. the geographical area covered includes several communities within the Department of Chuquisaca.
- contact with 'beneficiaries' is through the courses for promotores and visits to communities.
- both aim at promocion campesina through an encouragement of critical awareness of the 'campesino reality'.
- both intend change in social, economic and cultural spheres.
- technical assistance is provided by development workers and by promotores (after training) operating in the various communities.



Differences between the two institutions

Institution A

- all staff based in Sucre;
- the form of 'organization' promoted is the sindicato campesino;
- agricultural production project operates through the distribution of seeds and fertilizers to communities. The same quantities received by each community need to be returned to common (regional) silos for storage for the following season;
- administration of the agricultural production project is encouraged to be done by the sindicato in each community and the sindicato representatives in the Cantons;
- distribution and commercialization of produce is intended to be done through (CORACA)<sup>3</sup>
- integration of campesinos into the national context includes radical structural changes in the economic and political spheres nationally.

Institution B

- one staff member is based in Sopachuy (the town of the area);

- agricultural production project operates through the subsidized selling of seeds through the cooperative shop in Sopachuy;
- administration and general running of the project is encouraged to be done through the cooperative in each community, and the town cooperative;
- distribution and commercialization of produce is intended to be done through the network of cooperatives;
- integration of campesinos to the national context does not involve radical structural political and economic changes nationally.

Although these two institutions are very prominent in the area they are certainly not alone. A further strong presence is that of the Catholic priest based in the town of Sopachuy and his 'evangelization project' (see Chapter Two) and regular visits to neighbouring communities. The training of 'catechist leaders' (young men from the neighbouring communities) is a strong element in this project. Catechist leaders, like promotores, are expected to disseminate the 'knowledge' in their own communities, and set examples of behaviour according to the priest's criteria of good behaviour.

The town hospital runs a health project in the area. Here again health promotores are trained and equipped with first aid kits

and given courses intended to enable them to encourage attendance at the town hospital and the adoption of attitudes to health and illness in line with the assumptions of the hospital staff who are trained in Western medicine.

Finally, there is a project run by another institution in category (a) which encourages the formation of women's groups in the town and in communities through the distribution of foodstuffs. This project functions primarily in the town and is administered by one of the nuns in Sopachuy. It aims to strengthen women's organizations, clubes de madres (literally translated as 'mothers' clubs').

Another prominent organization which is discussed extensively in later chapters is the sindicato campesino. For here suffice it to say that its representative in the town is influential in relation both to the development institutions and to the campesinos in the communities.

This area was chosen for fieldwork precisely because of the variety of institutions operating within it. I felt it provided an opportunity to examine more closely the extent of communication between development workers themselves, and between the latter and campesinos (the 'beneficiaries'). It also provided an opportunity to examine the presence or absence of different discourses, and the extent to which one dominated or excluded another, and to assess the consequences of this. The next section deals with the methodology I used in order to research into these areas.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This section is divided into two. The first part deals with the type of data used in this study. The second concerns the constraints and advantages of doing fieldwork in one's own country.

The chosen design of the research made it impossible for me to confine myself to a traditional detailed study of a single community. Instead I focussed on a number of the different levels involved in the 'process of development; and I have attempted to analyse in as much detail as possible each of the various levels within the inevitable time and financial constraints. Therefore, this study cannot claim to be exhaustive for any of the levels looked at. An in-depth study of donors in Western Europe or at least in one of the capitals would in itself require a full period of fieldwork at this one level alone. This would apply equally to an in-depth analysis of the private development institutions in a given city, let alone country. Similarly, the research done at the community level tries to avoid generalisations or the production of a composite picture. By the same token it was not considered essential to make an analysis of the various ethnographic sources or other research conducted in the Andes. Some relevant ethnographic material has been reviewed and is presented in Appendix I. However, in the main text of the thesis only brief references are made to other sources on, for example, conceptions of Pachamama and other local notions.

The approach adopted for my study pays particular attention to occasions where ideas are presented and discussed, to events where those involved in the process of development meet formally or

informally, and also to narrative and reflections on ideas and conceptions identified as relevant by one group or another.

Particular attention has therefore been given to meetings, training or promotional courses, and to the content and conduct of these. Furthermore, since much of the discourse on intended change - for example, the context of these meetings and courses emphasises perceptions of 'knowledge' and 'expertise' - analysis of this comprises an important element in the thesis.

Conceptions of 'development', 'liberation', 'participation' carry with them not only values implicit in the interpretation and understanding of these, but more importantly assumptions which extend to more fundamental areas of life. These are examined by comparing and contrasting different 'themes' (as I call them) which are frequently raised and discussed by the various groups involved.

#### Collection of Data

The data used in this study were collected during a period of fifteen months in Bolivia, from September 1984 to January 1986. Prior to going to Bolivia I visited Holland for a period of two weeks in July 1984. Data was based on three types of information gathering: informal and unstructured interviewing, analysis of written reports and literature on various organizations involved in development projects, and participant observation.

During the two weeks in Holland, visits were paid to two NGOs (non-governmental organizations) which are involved in financing development projects in several Third World countries, including Bolivia. Three staff members with different

responsibilities were interviewed in each organization and literature (intended for external use) was also gathered.

During the first four months in Bolivia the purpose of my data gathering was twofold. On the one hand my intention was to gather information from several development institutions in Bolivia in order to attain a general overall view of development trends and concerns among the various institutions visited. On the other, I wanted to identify an institution which might be interested and willing to allow me to be at the same time an observer and a participant within the institution. In other words, their interest in my research topic needed to be such that they would enable me to be a kind of part-time member during the time of my fieldwork.

During these initial four months I visited the cities of La Paz, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba and Sucre. In each city institutions were identified initially on the basis of suggestions from friends and relatives with a knowledge of development institutions working in the particular city. In some cases personal introductions were given to particular institutions. These institutions in turn had contact or had detailed knowledge of other institutions which in turn were followed up. In each city my attempt was to visit a variety of institutions according to the categories identified in the previous section. During these visits informal interviews were held with at least two staff members from each institution (preferably in different positions within the hierarchy of the institution). With some institutions several visits were made and up to four to six staff members were interviewed. With the latter, that is, with those institutions where more frequent contact was

established, visits were also made to rural areas where some of their projects were being implemented.

Approximately one third of these interviews were tape recorded. However, on occasions the interviewee preferred not to be recorded. With the later interviews I became more adept at judging whether the tape recorder would prove a hindrance rather than advantage according to the person being interviewed. The interviews were informal, but the topics of conversation raised by me were broadly speaking the following: development/underdevelopment, the role/position of the institution in relation to its view of development, its view/analysis of the problems of campesinos (its 'beneficiaries'), its views of the solutions to these problems, its methods and approaches, its types of projects, its relations with other institutions, and its relations with donors. During these interviews I recorded two types of information: first, notes made during the interviews; second, notes made immediately after the interview i.e. clarifications and additions which the constraints of the interview prevented me from doing, and in addition my general impressions of the interview itself and the institution.

These interviews were all conducted in Spanish. During visits to the rural areas to particular projects informal chats were held with staff also visiting those areas and with some people at the receiving end of the projects. Depending on the areas visited, the 'beneficiaries' either spoke Spanish or Quechua. On these occasions I found that the use of my notebook was inhibiting. Therefore information was recorded at intervals during the day and mostly at the end of the day, based on my memory of conversations held and overheard, and other observations and insights.

Once an institution was selected together with an area. I moved to the main town in the area (Sopachuy). From there I visited the communities which were involved in projects carried by the institution I had selected and by other institutions also operating in the area. Initially entry to these communities was made with development workers from the institution.

The choice of the community proved not to be mine alone as I had naively anticipated. A visit to a particular community which I had chosen as a strong possibility on the basis of it having several projects and a history of a strong hacienda system proved interesting but frustrating. By then, nearly four months after my arrival in Bolivia, I was getting extremely impatient and anxious to settle in a community. On the second visit of the development workers and myself to this particular community we asked whether my staying there for several months there would be welcomed. During the meeting the response had been positive. There were questions as to what I would be doing, and a general acceptance seemed confirmed by the dirigente who told us that I could come and live there. Two days later, after the development workers had returned to Sucre, I set off alone for the community. The journey was a three hour ride on horseback; all my belongings were packed on two other horses. No one appeared to be around when I finally reached the school. The dirigente was nowhere to be found. I went to visit a couple of households and after their preliminary welcome I slowly began to realise that there were rumours and worries about having a "communist" coming to live in their community. The following day the dirigente told me that some people were worried, but I should take no notice. I decided to return to Sopachuy and start again. I



decided to visit the communities myself and explain myself what I would be doing. I began to realise that the presence of the development workers may not have been as welcome as it first appeared. However, some months later and with more knowledge of the area and the people I discovered that the community still maintained strong links with ex-landowners who were in conflict with the development institution I had chosen (this point is examined in more depth in later chapters). Landowners in Sopachuy frequently referred to development workers as communists, which in the area is often used synonymously with supay (Que.) (devil). Intuitively I felt that remaining in that community might cause divisions and conflicts within it which would in turn affect my presence there. It took me a further two weeks before I finally moved into another community which also had several projects being implemented. These were being directed by all the institutions mentioned above, particularly the two main ones.

Information gathering for the majority of the time I spent in the community was by observation. Constant notetaking proved to be inhibiting and, given my experience in the other community, I decided to continue with the technique of recording in notebooks at intervals during the day and at night time. The preparation of particular questions also proved a drawback. I began to realise that answers I was given were those which they expected I wanted to hear. Later I joined in conversations and raised relevant topics without asking direct questions. Here I felt that topics were discussed with more ease and spontaneity though the level of intimacy varied, however, with the person(s) and their preferences. With one particular old man, for example, after the first months in

the community had passed, I was able to exchange frequent visits with him and had long chats on the basis of my questions.

In a sense I conducted a participatory form of research both within the community and within the institution which I had selected. During my months in the community I also spent time in Sopachuy attending courses for promotores or for catechist leaders. I also attended courses for promotores in other towns in the area and in Sucre. During this period I attended meetings of the institution in Sucre and one annual general evaluation meeting of the three offices of the institution in Tarija (another city in southern Bolivia). In spite of my stressing in the community and town that I was not a development worker but was only cooperating with the development workers of that particular institution, I did become associated with the institution by people in the town. I did get involved in certain activities related to the project as, for example, the distribution of potato seeds. I helped with letter writing on behalf of campesinos from the community, requesting funds to buy materials for constructing an irrigation canal, and with presenting a project proposal to gather and classify information based on traditional herb knowledge which was being proposed by one of the promotores.

Towards the end of my fieldwork period a few meetings were arranged by more than one institution to exchange views and ideas on the basis of my findings and experiences.

#### Constraints and Advantages

These constraints and advantages refer to two aspects of my study: the nature of the research, and the fact that I was doing

research in my own country. Both are very much linked to one another, but here for the sake of clarity I distinguish them.

The nature of my research required that I spend an important proportion of my fieldwork period moving from one city to another (during the initial months, and later in the Department of Chuquisaca, following the programme of development workers). This meant that while I was settled in the community I spent several discontinuous weeks travelling with development workers and attending their courses and meetings. This type of allocation of research time had the advantage of gathering data from people in different levels of the process of development. It gave the opportunity to follow developments within projects and to constantly reassess the views and ideas that development workers and campesinos expressed concerning one another and concerning the projects themselves and the themes included in both of these. It further provided me with the opportunity to follow the patterns of work of development workers and examine the extent of correspondence with patterns amongst campesinos. I was further able to compare and contrast different ideas, values and 'world views' as expressed in different contexts and on different occasions.

However, a corresponding constraint was that time spent with either development workers or campesinos was frequently interrupted. I made a point of allocating my time to both according to important events as identified in each camp. Evaluation meetings, courses for staff members, courses for promotores, inter-institutions meetings, were all occasions when I tried to be present either in the city or town where these were taking place. Similarly, during All Saints, Carnival, the fiestas in June and

August, and harvest and sowing times were occasions when I made a point of staying put within the community.

During the initial period in the Sopachuy area my frequent contact with development workers of one institution caused people in the city, town and community to assume my affiliation to that institution. This immediately demarcated my position in relation to some people. There were those, especially some landowners in the town, who considered that the work of development workers was negative, that is, it brought "communism" to the campesinos. For others, like the members of other institutions, the priest, and hospital staff, my contact with the institution represented a positive influence in the area. In the community my relationship with development workers became clearer in time. However, for many people in the town (such as some landowners) my presence was treated with both bewilderment and caution throughout my stay.

A further advantage of the way I decided to go about my study concerned the large number of communities that I was able to visit with development workers, which otherwise would have been extremely difficult. Not only did I visit several communities in the Department of Chuquisaca, but I also had the opportunity to visit five in the Department of Cochabamba and three in the Department of Santa Cruz. These were made with different development institutions, making follow up visits and giving courses for their projects. This gave me the opportunity to make certain comparisons between (a) different institutions' approaches, methods and ways of conceptualising certain notions, and (b) different reactions and ideas from the 'beneficiaries' towards the project and the development workers.

As far as the advantages and constraints concerning my undertaking research in my own country I would summarise these as follows. On first arrival there was a novelty in terms of what I was observing due to my absence from Bolivia for several years prior to my arrival for fieldwork. However, certain people and places were not entirely new, but for the first time I was undertaking a job and dealing with institutions and organizations in a way I had never previously done in Bolivia. Adjusting to a different rhythm of life in the cities let alone in the country was a quite markedly new experience for me.

The first contacts with institutions were made through introductions from friends or relatives. The difference between contact through such introductions and contact without these was quite noticeable. Not only did this relate to the friendliness and degree of welcome but also to the degree of openness and frankness with which interviews were conducted when preceded by an introduction. Follow-up meetings with these institutions resulted, in most cases, with continued openness not only in discussions with me but also in my being enabled to attend their meetings, see their reports and visit their projects.

Frankness on their part in relation to their work and approaches requires, according to my criteria, a reciprocal need for discretion and loyalty on my part. The position of institutions in Bolivia can be a delicate one in three respects. The most sensitive aspect is perhaps an internal one (within the country) in relation to their role, image and work with campesinos and the way in which successive Governments have regarded this work. During repressive regimes, many staff members of some institutions were persecuted or



arrested; the image and name of institutions, if they are to remain visible, often needs to change. Therefore there is a constant caution in this respect, particularly given the suddenness with which regimes can change. Another aspect concerns their relations with donors, in which, as will be shown later, there is competition between institutions over their funding agencies. This is closely related to the third aspect which concerns the relationships between each other. There can be and has been a high degree of tension between the institutions and information regarding one may be used detrimentally by another.

My deep concern in this respect, i.e. to maintain a form of loyalty to the institutions and particularly to the one with which I collaborated more closely is in a way strongly related to my being Bolivian. Not only shall I be working in the near future in Bolivia and with many of the institutions I visited, but even more importantly I can identify quite strongly with their predicament and concerns. I cannot justify maximising my own professional (academic) benefit at the cost of possibly creating negative consequences for some institutions.

These are the main reasons for my difficulties and limitations in disclosing the names of institutions and for giving information which could be detrimental to the institutions concerned. This is a further constraint which becomes awkwardly paradoxical in a study which concentrates strongly on areas of 'communication'. My intention however, is to attempt to improve some areas and forms of miscommunication with the consequent benefit to the beneficiaries - who often do not receive any benefit, or do not wish to benefit, or have no say in whether they are categorised

as such or not, rather than create further crevasses and blockages by providing sensitive information.

The guardedness and caution of institutions which were contacted directly by me without first of all an introduction was in marked contrast with the others. Interviews on these occasions were quite formal and written information was restricted to brochures intended for external circulation. The material gathered on these occasions was interesting in itself, in the sense that it provided me with a view of how the institution wished other to view it, i.e. an ideal presentation of their role and work. But self-criticism or self-analysis in relation to the topics drawn into the interview were not forthcoming.

My position as a Bolivian doing research in my own country also conveyed the view to several institutions (as became apparent when I later discussed this point with some staff members) that my research was not primarily done for academic and professional gain on my part, but more importantly was an attempt to shed some light on areas and forms of conflict and miscommunication between the various groups involved. This contrasts with the frequently expressed concern about some foreigners who are held to go to Bolivia, and then spend several months in archives, libraries and in rural areas undertaking research which is rarely shared with those institutions and people involved.

My involvement in the general problems within Bolivia, and more particularly within the 'development process' while undertaking fieldwork, presented an added problem on my return to London. It became extremely difficult to decrease that involvement or even to redirect it, at least in part, towards an academic undertaking. To

a certain extent this constraint continued throughout the months of writing up the thesis. However, I am also strongly motivated towards providing a contribution to this area of study which I feel may go towards increasing our academic knowledge in a field which is fairly limited to date, but also which may shed light in future relations and understandings between academics and those involved in the process of development.

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The chapters that follow provide a context for where the study was conducted, and provides an analyses of the relations between the various participants in development, and the extent of understanding, conflict, and miscommunication on the relevant concepts, ideas, goals on the part of those involved.



FOOTNOTES

1. Assumptions - I use this term as conventionally understood in Philosophy, i.e. things that one is aware of in the elaboration of values, theories and so on.
2. Letter of S. Newton Pettis to Secretary of State W. Evarts, 29 September 1879.
3. CORACA, Corporacion Agropecuaria Campesina (Campesino Corporation concerned with agricultural and cattle production). New programme which attempts to manage the distribution and commercialization of produce from campesinos through a network of markets and transport managed and run by campesinos on a national scale. This programme never quite got off the ground until my departure in January 1986.

Chapter One  
FROM KURACAS TO PROMOTORES

The emphasis on development in recent decades in Bolivia needs to be examined in the light of changes which are commonly highlighted in historical accounts. Since 'development' has more recently come to form part of the terms and concepts used for intended change, it is important to understand how and why it has become a key concept for many sectors of the population within Bolivia. Furthermore, earlier key concepts and terms explaining and legitimising change are also relevant since their use and formations have a bearing on present explanatory and legitimacy discourse.

In this context it is significant to note the importance and stress given to intended change in Bolivian history, especially change from one system to another. Differences and similarities in one system are often highlighted to justify and explain not only new conditions, but also as a *raison d'être* of the next. The relevance of these in present day Bolivia centres on how these explanations and terms are interpreted and how they influence the way in which present ideas and concepts are conveyed and expressed. The demarcation of ideas and concepts in terms of periods is not always clearcut. However, differences rather than similarities are given more prominence.

The way in which Indians or campesinos have been described and considered in various periods of Bolivian history is

particularly relevant to this thesis since today they constitute the intended 'beneficiaries' in many rural development projects. As synthesised in the title to this chapter I wish to argue that leadership among 'Indians' or 'campesinos' has been affected by different periods of Bolivian history. Just as 'Kuracas' and traditional leaders were taken up by the Incas and invading Spaniards and adopted for their own means and ends, so dirigentes have been taken up by political parties to influence the grassroots and acquire support or as 'promotores' (young men selected to 'promote' development projects in their own areas). Variations occur in how they are generally presented and to a large extent this is dependant on the power relations at given moments of history and how they relate to the general societal context.

This chapter highlights certain periods in Bolivian history. The intention is not to provide a detailed account of these periods, but rather to outline certain landmarks and historical changes as they are presented, through the education system and by some writers (historians, sociologists, archaeologists and anthropologists) mostly to the urban population. Particular attention is paid to the way in which certain dominant sectors of the population (throughout the various identified periods) have stressed particular events, ideas and key terms. This is sometimes a means to legitimise a new regime or event by disassociation with the 'other'. Establishing boundaries between one system and another is also part of this legitimization process. Of particular significance is the presentation and examination of history from an urban perspective. It is only in the last decades that attention has been paid to

historical accounts from the point of view of campesinos (Albo [1984], Dandler (1984), Larson (1984), Platt (1982), Rivera [1984]).

Incas as benevolent or totalitarian

Little has been written on pre-Inca periods but Inca empire accounts have been more prolific. Modern accounts of the Incas vary in their interpretations of this period in Bolivian history. Urquidi (1982) - a Bolivian sociologist - for example, portrays the benevolence and the benefits stemming from the Inca empire. The coherence and legitimization of the Incas is strengthened, according to him, because societies conquered by the Incas were "disintegrating". The Incas were "restorers" with a "genius and great capacity for administration". He admits that the ayllu, village communities of kinship groups of a lineage type of organization, continued since before the arrival of the Incas, but then adds "it grew and was improved to such a point that a centralised State and durable forms of social organization were established (1982:45).

Ibarra Graso (1985) - an Argentinian archaeologist - on the other hand describes the military power of the Incas as being predominant over the conquered societies. The aim of this predominance in military organization, according to him, was to continue conquering neighbouring regions. Among the Incas, the occupation which carried highest prestige is said to be military. A conquering tactic used by them was the transportation of mitamaes (defeated groups) from their native area to another. These groups met the need for labour power in certain areas and their transfer

decreased the possibility of rebellions. Ibarra Graso describes the Inca State as repressive and totalitarian, and the power of the "Inca kings" as absolute. This power was exerted through a hierarchy which extended to the kuraca or hilacata (traditional leaders of ayllus).

Land was distributed among the Incas, their clergy and the conquered ayllus. Larger proportions were for the Incas and their clergy who also had overall rights over all land in their empire. Apart from land, the Incas also had exclusive rights over the mines and the cultivation of coca leaves. Land allocated to the Incas and their clergy was cultivated by able members of the conquered ayllus. Land allocated to the ayllus was fragmented in small plots called tupus. The tupus according to Urquidí were worked communally. Communal work was also carried out on the land allocated to Incas, this however, was under compulsory labour systems: mita and chunca. This type of work was considered part of the tax imposed by the Incas. Tax was also paid in kind. According to Basadre (1937), Incas benefitted from the spirit of 'cooperation' and 'solidarity' that were characteristic of the ayllus. Ibarra Graso rejects the predominance of communal work on the tupus and suggests they were worked individually by each family. The only communal work he maintains was compulsory labour on land allocated to the Incas and their clergy. Distribution of newly conquered land was not made among those conquered, but among those conquering. The former were obliged to work on these and other lands, and much of what was produced constituted tax towards the maintenance of the Inca armies.

The extent to which communal work was utilized and adopted is relevant, as will be shown in later chapters, since currently it is often discussed in relation to rural development projects.

Fellmann Velarde - an ideologue and politician - suggests the name Inca to be a distortion of 'intis' (suns) or as he claims worshippers of the sun. Other translations have been given, for example, Ibarra Graso translates the name as "master craftsman", and discusses their link to the sun in relation to their alleged origins. Their military conquests were legitimised, according to him, by detailed accounts of their sacred origins as descendants from the god Sun. The parents of Inca Huiracocha were said to have emerged from Lake Titicaca. Their origins in a sense coincided with the origins of sacredness, a state which remained with the Incas throughout their lives. The Inca cult was popularised and Quechua, the Inca language, was decreed the official language of the "new Inca empire". Traditional tribal links with land were partly destroyed and a new system of property, ownership and exploitation was created, which, according to Godelier, became more prevalent than former community relations. Deprived of their traditional social hierarchies, expropriated and enslaved to masters with a different language and culture Indian communities disappeared or retired to themselves in more isolated areas (Godelier 1977).

There is evidence to suggest that clearcut distinctions between conquerors and conquered are not always justified. Many aspects of pre-Inca life continued during and after the Inca empire. Examples are the persistence of the Aymara language in many areas (to this day), types of ceramics and weaving, and certain religious beliefs. The military superiority of the Incas together with the

accounts of their sacredness, in origin and while on earth, and the imposition of new systems of ownership and relations of production were not accepted or imposed to the same degree in different parts of the large territorial expanse of their empire. Nevertheless, the impact of their presence was massive and in many ways continues to be apparent. Quechua is now spoken by approximately eight million people from Southern Ecuador down to large areas of Bolivia, Peru and northern Argentina. Many predominantly Aymara speakers in Bolivia place the Quechua language above the Aymara language in terms of prestige.

Regardless of differences in interpretation concerning the Incas, one can discern clearly from various historical accounts, that the Incas used powerful means for legitimating the new order. Time, in a sense, started with their presence in the area. Legends of their origins and their sacredness rendered earlier ones illegitimate. What occurred before the Incas was not considered part of their knowledge of the past.

These brief expositions of interpretations of the Inca empire, selected as symptomatic from a large body of historical writings have been printed in order to stress at this stage the malleable acts of interpretations that can be given of a particular period in Bolivian history. What is stressed and what is rejected from previous demarcated periods is often dependant on present contexts.

Bearers of 'civilization' or 'barbarians'

Parallels have been drawn between the Inca and Colonial period in Bolivian history. For example there is a marked emphasis on sacredness for the legitimization and justification of the changes each brought. While the Incas claimed sacred origin and status, the Spaniards were the bearers of the means for 'civilization' in this world, and their religion was the only "true religion" essential for "salvation" in the next (Albo 1984). Albo suggests the messianic aspects of that religion had a decisive influence in the way Christianity was brought to the New World. It also had a social influence, in the sense that it fed a belief of superiority over other human beings who did not share the same "true religion".

A difference often cited, between the Inca empire and the Colonial period is the treatment of gold and silver extracted from the mines. The former utilized these metals for religious and ornamental purposes, while the latter used them for economic gain.

Much has been written on the system of labour utilized during the Colonial period. Systems used by the Incas were also adapted by the Spaniards. During the first decades of the Colonial period every year nearly 14,000 "Indians" are said to have worked in the silver mine of Potosí. Many of these Indians were brought from areas especially earmarked for providing mitayos (Indians brought specifically to work in the mines -sometimes from distances over 800 kms.). Many of the Indians escaped and sought refuge in the haciendas (country estates) in which they became agricultural labourers - yanaconas who became exempt from the compulsory in the mines. The yanaconas received from the landowner



a small plot of land (peguial) on a loan basis. Each family could work this plot for their own benefit, and in exchange the man, wife and older children were obliged to work on the landowner's land for a set number of days every month. This system of unpaid labour extended to work in the landowner's household in the country house (casa de hacienda) and in the house in the town or city. This system was called pongueaje and the man providing this service pongo.

To a large extent this system continued well into the Republican period, ' until the 1952 Revolution and many of the terms continue in use today. Similarly, a well documented debate which took place during the Colonial period, can provide parallels with some ideas and ways of perceiving the life of campesinos today. The debate refers to the way in which "Indians" were perceived and treated during the Colonial period. "The Spanish Crown assumed the responsibility of saving millions of Indians from paganism, as well as governing them according to the European principles of morality and justice" (Fagan, 1984:72). The encomienda from encomendar - to give in trust - had been originally invented in Spain as a temporary grant of right to gather tribute. This system was used in the New World as a convenient way of entrusting the Christian welfare of local people to Spanish colonialists (Fagan, 1984). Under this system the Crown granted a group of Indians to a settler, who had the right to extract tribute or forced labour from them in exchange for religious conversion and protection. One Bolivian historian (R.Querejazu, unpublished), is of the opinion that the Spaniards could ease their conscience with respect to the marked exploitation of Indians - in terms of their labour and extraction of riches from

Indian territories - by the conviction that, in exchange, Indians were gaining something of more value (from the Spaniards point of view) - the opportunity to be baptized and become Catholics, saving their souls from the horrors of hell and securing eternal celestial bliss.

This view of Indians as "pagans" and "infidels" requiring salvation for which they were forced to pay so heavily, was denounced by some Dominican friars. They referred to the "sins" committed by settlers in their dealing with the Indians. The debate entered into the question of whether the Indians were "rational human beings". In a long campaign for Indian rights the Dominicans argued that, "Indian exercise, in their own way, the use of reason. Papal bulls forbidding Christians to deprive Indians, or others, of their freedom had little impact. The excesses of the Colonialists with regard to the Indians continued to be a source of debate. Bartolome de las Casas (1474-1566) - a Dominican friar - was in his later years regarded as the "Apostle of the Indians". He claimed that between fifteen to twenty million Indians perished at the hands of Spaniards. "The reason why the Christians have killed and destroyed such an infinite number of souls is solely because they have made gold their ultimate aim..." (Hanke, 1949:25). Las Casas and his fellow Dominicans managed to influence the Crown to promulgate the New Laws in 1542 abolishing encomiendas, outlawing slavery for prisoners of war, and forbidding ill treatment of Indians. However, the laws proved ineffective and Las Casas had to resort to ecclesiastical sanctions of the Catholic Church. The encomenderos reacted against the missionaries for their involvement

in politics. The Church itself was divided between those who supported the colonists and those who did not.

Parallels with the Catholic Church today are significant in this respect. Divisions within the Church are apparent in many South American countries. To a large extent these divisions relate to positions adopted in respect to present socio-economic structures which are maintained and supported by the exploitation of large proportions of the population. Sympathisers and adherents of Liberation Theology have been accused of meddling in politics. Such accusations not only come from without, but also from within the Catholic Church.

Although current debates are not based on notions of 'rationality', parallels can nevertheless be drawn with certain assumptions made about campesinos. Campesinos are often perceived as requiring 'education', 'integration', 'modernisation', 'change', 'conscientization', 'waking up'. It is further significant that, like during Colonial days, often the criteria on which such assumptions are based are drawn from similar sources, i.e. 'developed' countries.

The theme of "polarisation" between Spaniards and criollos (descendants of Spaniards born in the New World), as the dominant group, together with mestizos (descendants of Spanish and Indian), on one side and the great majority, the Indians on the other, is frequently stressed in writings on the Colonial period. The former are said to have controlled power and wealth and to have centered mostly in the cities and mines. For this they depended on the labour of the Indians. Although large numbers of Indians were in the haciendas and in the mining centres, a large number continued to

live in their communities. 'Polarisation' is used in many accounts to explain Indian rebellions during that period. More recent studies however (Albo & Barnadas 1984; R. Querejazu, unpublished), show that polarization is an inappropriate concept. In-fighting within the dominant group (Spanish and criollos), expressed in terms of alliances to rival groups in Spain often extended to Indians. In order to achieve their ends, these groups sought the support of Indians through the kuracas. Similarly, kuracas sought criollo-mestizo support to achieve their own ends. Many kuracas occupied a social and economic position similar to that of mestizos or even criollos. Division among criollos was often reflected among Indians. There are accounts of battles between royalist kuracas and kuracas opposing the Spanish crown (Vega, 1969:22). On several occasions Spaniards relied on the support of kuracas and their followers for fighting rebels to the Spanish Crown.

What I wish to suggest, with these examples, is that although a large proportion of political rhetoric and many historical and other accounts of Bolivian history stress a marked contrast and distinction between the various periods (as constructed in the same accounts), there are many parallels and similarities between each period. However, justification and legitimization of certain actions and events is often constructed on the basis of marked 'change', a breaking away from one period to another. This does not alter with the onset of Independence in 1825, nor in contemporary times.

Achieving 'independence' or maintaining dependence

Many of the ideas and terms voiced during the time of the formation of the Republic in 1825 are expressed in the Minutes of Independence<sup>2</sup> which were printed and distributed in urban centres. In it all nations are invited to recognise the reasons, and agree with the justifications for the

"emancipation from the unjust power of the mean and oppressive King Ferdinand the VII".

It continues by stating

"...witness, where a flourishing empire might have stood, and where, under the rough and life absorbing hand of Iberia, only appear the symbols of ignorance, of fanaticism, of slavery and ignorance; come and witness, a barbarian education shaped to destroy any life within the soul, within an agricultural system which agonises guided only by routine, within the shameful monopoly of commerce, within the collapse of our powerful mines due to the barbarous power of Spain; witness, our indigenous brothers, sons of the great Manco Capac, <sup>3</sup> and your eyes will be filled with tears at the sight of those men, the most unfortunate, humiliated slaves, beings who have been sacrificed under many torments and insults. You shall then agree with us that nothing is as just as breaking those iniquitous ties with cruel Spain".

The "unanimous" resolution was declared that they should govern themselves, and be ruled by a constitution, by laws and by authorities that they themselves may provide and believe to be more conducive to their

"future happiness as a nation, and to be an unchanging support to the Catholic Religion, and in accordance with the sacrosanct right of honor, life, freedom, equality, ownership and security".

A breaking away from the previous period is strongly conveyed in the above. Spain and the Spanish are portrayed as the culprits of all evils; 'ignorance', 'fanaticism' and slavery of the 'indigenous' people. In opposition to the culprits are the humiliated and insulted sons of the Incas. The justification and legitimation for the emancipation from the "barbarous power of Spain" is explained in terms of the oppression and slavery towards the Indians who in turn are described as the "sons of the great Manco Capac". The new regime is thus justified and legitimized by bringing to the fore the sufferings and humiliations of the indigenous people, and the exploitative attributes of the Spaniards. Rather than 'civilization' and 'true religion', now the 'change' is stressed by reference to 'freedom', 'equality' and 'ownership'.

Many historical accounts, such as Luis Paz (1919), allude to the end of the Colonial period as an end to exploitation, and the formation of the Republic as the beginning of a new order in which previous ideologies and practices are rejected. More recently however, some authors present evidence which contradicts such clear cut distinctions of one period from another. According to Platt (1982) during the first decades of the Republic, Bolivia was close to bankruptcy. Only through the income from mining exports and the lifting of restrictions on imports was the national budget saved. The ayllus of many regions were sacrificed in order to ensure the survival of the "nation", identified with the State and run by the criollos.

Governments encouraged the capitalist transformation of rural areas with the first land reform which proposed the extinction

of all ayllus, the privatization of land ownership and the creation of markets for land, enabling the formation of large estates. It was felt that the ayllus "primitive" forms of social organization should be eliminated. There emerged a confrontation between "forces of progress", heralded by the criollos, and the "semisavage" group, the ayllus who defended an "anachronistic" type of organization and ownership.

The terms enunciated at the birth of the Republic and the attitudes towards the "Indians" changed when the latter were not favourably inclined towards the "national projects". After the failure of the proposed first land reform, Platt claims, a solid impenetrable unity was consolidated between criollos and mestizos who constructed their "national identity" in opposition to that of the Indians. The idea of polarization is again introduced in writings and debates of this period, and in a sense it is a more appropriate notion for this period than the previous. However, although polarization is stressed on a level of identity, in terms of economic structures and relations it is misleading. According to Platt, the situation in many parts of rural Bolivia must be considered as a product of Government policies which for decades favoured free trade and an increase in wheat imports, and not, as is generally supposed, the result of "backward" and "traditional" agriculture directed towards subsistence production.

Nevertheless, the "sons of the grant Manco Capac" and "indigenous brothers", after some years of 'independent' rule were considered as the "Indian problem". Resistance from the Indians towards the proposed first land reform was interpreted as evidence of the "pre-civilized" or "pre-human" state of the Indians. It was

argued at the time that Indians would only become "civilized" if they sold their land and became potential proletarians within the emerging Bolivian capitalism. Indians should have taken advantage of State concessions in order to consolidate their own life style. The only force that would "civilize" them being "change" which at the time, according to Platt, meant the mercantilization of their lands, their produce and their labour force.

There was a clear contradiction between a liberal Government ideology and the Indians' ideas of mutual obligations between the State and the community. Furthermore, the concern of legislators and officials, immersed in European debates regarding political economy, did not coincide with the Indian concerns and conceptions regarding their situation in the ayllus. The Law (for the first land reform) is described as "benevolent", and the land is considered to have been "kidnapped" by the ayllus. The law proposed to expropriate lands owned by Indian cultivators for centuries was designed to result in the dissolution of "these backward groups" (the ayllus). The Law was designed for "enlightened people and not for the Indian race which remains in the blackest ignorance with all the visions of barbarians" (Platt, 1982).

According to some Bolivian social scientists (ie, Urioste 1984 and Ovando Sans 1961), more than three fourths of cultivable territory was occupied by the Indians. The process of "usurpation" of the land belonging to indigenous groups began in 1866 and ended during the first years of the present century. In other words, the contradiction between indigenous ownership and "Bolivian ownership" extended for a period which lasted approximately 50 years. During this time the formation of large feudal estates in the hands of



Bolivian usurpers" at the expense of the indigenous groups took place (Ovando Sans, 1961). The Spanish bureaucracy of the Colonial period, it is suggested, was replaced by a class of powerful merchants, landowners and miners. The situation of the Indians is represented as unchanging, in terms of the exploitation and abuse which they continued to endure.

It is only more recently that these aspects of the position of campesinos are given emphasis in writings from various authors (eg, Dandler & Calderon 1984). Similarly, historical accounts from the perspective of campesinos are also coming to light (Albo 1983; Dandler & Calderon 1984; Rivera 1984). Campesinos themselves particularly in the cities and La Paz and Oruro are responsible for analyses and perceptions of events which stress their interpretation and vision. Rivera (1984) gives an account of important 'Indian' movements which have emerged particularly in the city of La Paz and which are growing in importance and scope.

According to the 1976 census, 25 per cent of the inhabitants of La Paz is composed of migrants from the Altiplano and nearby valleys. Together with Aymara speakers born in La Paz they form 48 per cent of the inhabitants of the capital (at least from a linguistic point of view) (Albo 1979:48). Aymara migrants in La Paz have formed an urban sub-culture which expresses itself through formal and informal mechanisms: radio programmes, fiestas, cultural centres - these are "multishaped expressions of a resettlement process of the Indian in the cities" (1984:127). Furthermore, they have had access to school and university education which has enabled the emergence of an intellectual stratum which seeks ideological expression giving an outlet to the profound frustration they feel in

cities. In the late 1960s the Katarista movement <sup>4</sup> was formed. During the same time a further group was set up in the University of La Paz called University Movement Julian Apaza (whose members were of Aymara origin). These cultural and political movements based in La Paz were the basis of what was later called the Katarista movement.

#### Aid for "revolution"

In contemporary Bolivia, the "1952 Revolution" is considered and recognised as an important watershed. The reforms brought about then and in the following years are believed, by many sectors of Bolivian society, to have had important repercussions in the form of changes in the years that followed. The fact that it is referred to in terms of "revolution" is significant in itself. The extent to which this alleged radical change actually took place in terms of ideas, ideologies and structures of society is examined in the following pages. It is important, however, to go back a few years in order to understand more fully the context of pre- and post-"revolution".

The international context of the late 1940s had a striking influence on events and concerns within Bolivia at that time. The predominance of European countries in relations with Latin American countries gave way to that of the U.S.A. Given the two power bloc system in international affairs, the U.S.A. foreign policy of the time was much concerned with containing communist expansion. During that decade, the links with Latin America were increased through the establishment of offices for the 'coordination' of 'cultural and

commercial relations' between countries, and through repeated 'inter-American' conferences. The topics discussed at these conferences also bore more relation to U.S.A. preoccupations than to Latin American ones. "Mutual aid and American solidarity" formed the basis of the main resolution in the conference of 1945. During this conference the basis of what was called "hemispheric security" was set up. Together with this formal framework the U.S.A. increased the number of military missions to Latin America, together with credits, aid and military equipment for the region. As we shall see, the granting of aid turned into an important mechanism for political pressure and a significant influence in internal economic processes. The supply of strategic raw materials for U.S.A. industry or for U.S.A. reserves also became central factors in their economic and political influence (Navia, 1984).

In contrast to this, soon after the World War II, many Latin American countries went through a political crisis whereby traditional political systems were losing strength and "nationalist processes" were emerging. Navia, quoting Connell-Smith, suggests that Latin American nationalism is basically anti-North American. However, it became increasingly difficult to maintain such positions when North American predominance was at its height (1984:32).

In Bolivia, the MNR gathered a great deal of popular support and strong links with nationalist groups within the Armed Forces. At the time the response of the Government and conservative parties, together with the U.S.A. was to spread a campaign against the MNR accusing it - paradoxically it might seem - of being both "Nazi" and "Communist". In 1941, the U.S.A. Government made it clear that it was willing to give its immediate help to Bolivia in

order to "resist Nazi activities". Later that same year the U.S.A. presented a plan for "economic aid" (credits for the construction of roads and similar works). That same year an agreement was signed whereby a U.S.A. military mission would visit Bolivia. Connell-Smith suggests the aid to economic development in Latin America was given in exchange for reductions in customs tariffs and liberalization of exchange controls which enabled the U.S.A. economic penetration in the region. As Latin American dependence increased in relation to the U.S.A., the granting of economic aid became an important instrument in the policy of this country (1977:204). Almost always, "aid programmes" appear to be linked to "hemispheric security" considerations and to specific objectives of support or political pressure towards certain groups within the country, as classified by the State Department. Aid programmes in Bolivia began in 1941, and were linked (1) to efforts to resist the so called "Nazi threat", (2) to negotiations concerning the North American Oil company (Standard Oil) which became nationalised, (3) to North American desire to influence internal political conflicts, and (4) to U.S.A. interests in tin and other primary resources (Navia, 1984).

In 1942 a treaty between Bolivia and the U.S.A. was signed in Rio de Janeiro. It included agreements on Bolivian compensation for the nationalization of the Standard Oil Company, on the sale of tin at reduced rates, and on "help" with the war crisis. The following day an aid commitment of US\$25 million was made to "promote Bolivia's economic development". The precise contents were to depend on the findings of the Bohan Mission to Bolivia.

The Bohan Mission (presided over by Mervin Bohan) made recommendations that had, according to Navia, a notorious influence on criteria for economic and development policies which Bolivian Governments were to follow thereafter, and particularly in the MNR Government plans. The objectives at the time were principally the following:

To build a road system which would link the productive and consuming regions, with priority given to the high road from Cochabamba to Santa Cruz.

To diversify and expand agricultural production, especially incorporating the rich-soil area of Santa Cruz within the area of cultivation. To execute irrigation projects in selected areas.

To stimulate the oil industry to achieve a rapid increase in production.

In the years that followed aid programmes followed these lines. It is significant to note the extent to which the U.S.A. Government determined not only the type and content of projects, but the general overall direction and policies of the Bolivian Governments. According to several studies (Navia, Moore, Frederick), this is even more evident during the MNR take over in 1952 and the following years of its rule (1952-1964).

The switch on the part of the U.S.A. Government from regarding the MNR with suspicion to giving it its full support is

attributed, according to Navia (1984), to the difficulty experienced by U.S.A. politicians in either continuing to work with oligarchical "traditional" parties or of finding efficient conservative alternatives. On the one hand, the traditional parties were splitting and losing supporters; and on the other hand none of the projects to reconstruct "modern" conservative parties seemed viable. At the same time the military was tainted by its servitude, of the last years, to oligarchical sectors. Although the U.S.A. had maintained a supportive posture towards the regime the State Department is said to have been concerned by the growing instability of the Junta. Within the general disintegration of other political parties and factions, the MNR grew in the estimation of the State Department in the 1940s. The MNR, once labelled "pro-Nazi" and "communist", constituting a "dangerous threat to freedom and hemispheric security" was becoming increasingly harmless in State Department eyes. Its leader, Victor Paz Estenssoro (currently the President of Bolivia), had been shown to be a "pragmatist" and a "realist" in relation to international issues which led the U.S.A. to feel sure of his allegiance at a time of strong North American dominance in the region.

In April 1952 the MNR took over the Government after three days of fighting in the cities of La Paz and Oruro. The MNR which had earlier gained much popular support by proclaiming a nationalist programme and anti-imperialistic stance, was reluctant to voice such views at the time of its take over. During the days of the take over the radio stations broadcast MNR proclamations such as: "the national revolution has begun", "throw out the servants of the oligarchy", "the MNR are saviours of the people". As Navia points

out no anti-imperialist slogans were issued, or if they were were so diffuse as to go unnoticed. His explanation is two-fold: it had been an MNR decision (in line with its practical posture in international matters) to safeguard good relations with the U.S.A. The strongly felt resentment towards the "tin barons" (owners of the three largest tin mines) and the oligarchy had eclipsed "imperialism" which continued to be seen also as an enemy by popular sectors. In his inaugural speech, the President Victor Paz Estenssoro promised a peaceful government which would "respect international agreements and private property".<sup>6</sup> The reaction of the State Department was not that of rejection but of cautious acceptance (Navia 1984).

The popular support the MNR had enjoyed in its earlier years had to a large extent stemmed from its expressed concern for "social justice" and a desire for "reforms which would change" the conditions of the "oppressed" majorities. However, given the political divisions within the MNR, inflation, food shortages, and a lack of export revenues, the MNR found it difficult to meet the demands of the "revolutionary process". Economic assistance was required to implement the "revolution" and it had to come from overseas.

Furthermore, internal processes and concerns within Bolivia were redirected in the light of international concerns of the time. The "communist threat" represented in the Korean War and in the cold war, together with upheavals in Guatemala, were used as alarm warnings. The State Department was concerned that if aid was not given to Bolivia, the national revolution could radicalize into a process similar to that in Guatemala. By giving aid, the U.S.A.

could be in a position to set the terms for the type of revolutionary process that was to emerge in Bolivia. A letter from a U.S.A. government official commenting on the situation years later, states:

"...quite possibly we would not have been keen to help Bolivia in 1953 if it had not been for the situation in Guatemala. What happened was a lesson for those who wish to read it". (Cabot's letter of February 1969, in Moore, 1985).

Reports from the U.S.A. embassy in La Paz and from Milton Eisenhower (the U.S.A. president's brother) after a visit to Bolivia, stated that without aid funds the MNR government would not survive, and that anti-imperialist growing feelings might fertilise the ground for communist subversion. Based on these reports US\$100 million were agreed for Bolivia. By the end of 1953 an agreement with the U.S.A. government was signed.

The State Department defined this agreement as a type of "Marshall Plan" aimed at resolving "temporary economic problems". Moore claims this was not achieved, but the U.S.A. aid "was used by U.S.A. agencies to influence the process and measures of the revolution" (1985:50):

"This meant that the U.S.A. role changed from being a mere agent of emergency aid - as the Bolivian President of the time often described it - to that of an influential actor in the social and political development of the national revolution throughout the 1950s" (Moore, 1985:50).



The same author states that during 1957-60 aid was the most important element in the income structure of the MNR Government.

In the 1960s the "Alliance for Progress" promoted by J.F. Kennedy was introduced in Latin American countries. William J. Fulbright (1967) has described this programme as a "social revolution by peaceful means". Given what had occurred in Cuba in the late 1950s and movements of social unrest in other Latin American countries, the Alliance for Progress "encouraged the hope in Latin America that the U.S.A. would not only tolerate but actively support domestic social revolution" (1967:102).

Through these years aid programmes and plans were not only determined by U.S.A. interests and concerns, but were preceded, in the case of Bolivia, by an analysis of the Bolivian situation by visiting U.S. missions.<sup>7</sup> Decisions as to whether these programmes should be approved, which areas should be given priority (i.e. agriculture, industry, education and so on), the objectives that should be set, the type of approach and methods, were largely based on reports presented by these visiting missions. The decisions were taken by U.S.A. officials within U.S.A. criteria and based on U.S.A. assumptions.

### The Reforms

The significance of the "revolution" was that the social goal of "rural integration" was to take precedence over traditional economic and political interests in the country. Based on the three major reforms, measures were taken intended to change the traditional nature of Bolivian society; land reform, nationalization

of the major mines, and Indian freedom. Freedom for the Indians, writes Frederick (1977), meant integration into the society. To start what it saw as integration the new Government conferred citizenship on the Indians and instituted universal suffrage. In 1955 elementary education was made mandatory for the entire population.

Nationalization meant throwing out the three great mining companies - Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo - which had produced three quarters of Bolivian tin exports from 1945 to 1952. It symbolized the overthrow of the "old order" in order to distribute economic benefits of Bolivian's wealth to the masses.

The land reform meant destroying the hacienda system. In 1950, six per cent of Bolivian landowners possessed 92 per cent of all Bolivian farmland. At the other extreme 70 per cent of all farmers held only 0.4 per cent of the total farmland. There were large latifundios and many small minifundios. A large proportion of the rural population lived on the large estates working as tenants. In 1953 the land reform was decreed. (R.G. Frederick 1977).

The socio-economic objectives of the land reform are summarised by Iriarte (1980; translation by myself) as follows:

To provide cultivable lands to those campesinos who own no land, or very little. For this purpose land will be expropriated from the large latifundistas who do not exploit it directly.

To return to the indigenous communities the land which was taken from them, and to aid them in the organization of their produce, while at the same time allowing the continuation of their collectivist traditions.

To liberate the campesino workers and their families from their servile conditions by abolishing personal and compulsory unpaid services.

To stimulate greater agricultural production and commercialization by providing investment of new capital, allowing small and medium sized agriculturalists, encouraging agricultural cooperatives, giving technical assistance and opening credit opportunities.

To promote internal migration of the rural population from the Altiplano towards the east of Bolivia, so as to obtain a rational population distribution, a strengthened national unity, and a solid economic structuring between the East and West of the Bolivian territory.

Implementation of the land reform was a slow process. In twenty five years, Iriarte claims, 25,800 haciendas were affected and four million cultivable hectares were distributed among 405,000 families. Among the successes attributed to the land reform by the

Government at the time the cultural and economic isolation of the campesinos was said to be overcome and their political and social rights were said to be recognised. It was also claimed that the distribution of land to the campesinos around the country was aided by the sindicatos campesinos. By decree all sindicatos were officially recognised as a means of defense of the campesinos' rights and as a mechanism to maintain the newly acquired lands.

Many sectors and writers in Bolivia, however, are critical of the policy and implementation of land reform. Some writers state that despite what had been intended, the land reform as decreed in 1953 consisted principally in the distribution of land in the haciendas to colonos of that land (of secondary quality) which had already been used by them prior to the reform by arrangement with the landowners. Albo (1983) suggests that the objectives of the land reform were far more ambitious than the reality of the implementation. He also adds that the technical and financial assistance intended did not materialize. The size of land distributed varies a great deal from area to area. Carter (1967) claims that in some cases colonos ended up with less land than before the reform (although this was legally forbidden). In other areas he shows that there were increases from five to 20 per cent, and in other quantities of land doubled and trebled. According to Albo, the two most important changes brought about with the land reform were the access to title deeds for the land distributed, and more importantly the abolition of unpaid labour from the colonos for the landowners.

The designers of the land reform had intended to encourage associated rural units. The decree made provisions for a proportion

of the land in affected haciendas to be used in cooperatives, for communal use. The formation of co-operatives was also encouraged in the communities outside the haciendas (known as originarias). According to Albo this plan never worked. This was first of all due to the false view that communal ownership and production had persisted since the Incas. Secondly, he alleges it failed because the co-operatives were utilized for political ends by the MNR. Campesinos often used these plots for new families who had not received land or to increase the size of plots each family received. In this sense, Albo suggests, rural production did not greatly change. It did however consolidate a fragmentary family based system of production, which already existed prior to 1952. The major changes were the new production relations with former landowners and the system of marketing agricultural crops. The direct commercialization of crops by landowners ceased, and many of the market towns and fairs dwindled. Other towns and fairs, no longer following the routes utilized by former landowners, became more prominent. At the same time there was a marked increase in the numbers of merchants, intermediaries and hauliers. In the area of Sopachuy some of the former large landowners supplement their agricultural activities as hauliers and market intermediaries.

#### Sindicalismo Campesino

Later chapters show the extent to which certain groups regard sindicatos campesinos as vital elements in the organization of the life of campesinos. Furthermore, conceptions and uses of the sindicato in the communities around Sopachuy are explored in the

chapter on Organization and Leadership. The following section provides a brief introductory account of the development of sindicatos campesinos, and the changes they were intended to effect once they had been consolidated.

The term sindicato roughly corresponds to the English word 'union'. Sindicato campesino refers to a kind of peasant union which in Bolivia has distinguishing characteristics (details of this are given below). Sindicato campesinos are modelled on the sindicato obrero (Workers' Union)

Although sindicatos had begun functioning in some areas in Bolivia several years before the "revolution of 1952", they became more assertive and operational in some areas during the early years of the MNR Government and during the initial stages of the implementation of the land reform. The importance and strength of the sindicatos has been measured according to the different results of the land reform as applied to the various regions of the country. In Cochabamba, where sindicatos emerged several years before 1953, distribution of land was done more immediately. Similarly in La Paz and Oruro. In the latter, however, many landowners were able to maintain large sections of their latifundios because sindicatos in that area were created by the authorities, and it became easier for the landowners to make arrangements with Government officials and campesino leaders. In the areas of Chuquisaca and Potosi, where the sindicatos did not begin until after the Decree in 1953, and sometimes several years later, and often at the suggestion of "orders" from above, the reform was applied with little efficiency and speed. In the areas of the Chaco in Chuquisaca and the Eastern plains in Santa Cruz, there are areas where relations between

landowners and campesinos remain the same as before the land reform and still lack effective sindicato organizations (Albo, 1983).

Many writers (Dandler 1984; Iriarte 1980; and others) consider the Chaco War (1932-35) between Bolivia and Paraguay to be a crucial moment in Bolivian history. They argue that during those years the various ethnic groups were in constant contact and shared, to a large extent, desperate conditions, and that as a result there developed a common consciousness and awareness of the deprived political and economic situation of the Indians.

By 1940 and the years that followed, Iriarte claims, several sindicatos campesinos were formed. There was pressure for setting up rural schools and for organizing Quechua speaking congresses. These were years of agitation marked with rebellious activities by the campesinos, and strong reactions to these from the "Rural Society" (landowner society). The first Quechua Congress did take place, and according to Iriarte, demonstrated the capacity for organization and communication between campesinos. As a result of the Congress the Government of Colonel Villarroel (1945-1946) issued decrees abolishing unpaid labour and making provision of rural education compulsory for latifundio owners and agricultural and mining companies. These reforms did not meet with the expectations of the time. Furthermore, the Government failed to provide the necessary power instruments for the implementation of these decrees. Succeeding Governments ignored the decrees and adopted harsh policies towards the countryside (Iriarte, 1980).

It is important to note that the "campesino movement" of these years had the collaboration of lawyers and leaders from the Workers' Sindicato. They had clandestine meetings over several

years. There was also collaboration with the then clandestine MNR. Iriarte claims solidarity between the campesino movement and the Workers Sindicato was gradually becoming more effective.

In August 1952 (four months after the MNR take over) the Federation of the Sindicato Campesino of Cochabamba was formed. It was led by an ex-miner and trader and worked with the MNR party. Iriarte suggests that the Federation had the support of several campesino leaders and ex-campesinos connected with the MNR. The MNR directed the Federation and tried to form more sindicatos in other parts of the Department of Cochabamba.

Problems soon arose when the MNR tried to impose their own leaders, a move which met with opposition from existing leaders who had held their position for several years. This resulted, some months later, in the existence of two Federations of the sindicato campesino in Cochabamba: the official one, recognised and backed by the MNR Government, and the other led by a local leader. There were frequent tensions and conflicts between the two groups and their leaders.

Furthermore, divisions and ideological divergence within the MNR Government were often mirrored by campesino leaders. A Ministry of Campesino Matters was set up, which in turn organized the Federation of the sindicato campesino in the Department of La Paz. Top positions in the Federation were given to men who would encourage campesinos to collaborate with the revolutionary tasks the Government was said to have in hand at the time. Different factions within the MNR had different, often conflicting views as to what the role of the campesinos within the revolution should be, and this in turn led to further divisions and conflicts between sindicatos



campesinos. The MNR during its 12 years in office and later military Governments took advantage of the links established with sindicatos campesinos in some areas. The dirigentes were important key figures in these links and were frequently, sometimes with fatal consequences, at odds with one another following divisions within the MNR and the Military respectively.

It may be useful, at this stage, to delineate more precisely what is the intended structure and purpose of a sindicato campesino. The definition and description given is summarized from Iriarte, 1980 (and translated by myself) - a handbook often referred to by local development institutions when discussing the sindicato campesino during their courses for promotores and during their visits communities.

The sindicato campesino has taken its organizational shape from the Workers' Sindicato, though there are certain differences.

Since the land reform, the majority of the campesinos in Bolivia (with exceptions in the eastern regions of the country, and in other regions to a lesser extent) are not in a position (unlike the workers in factories, industry and mines) where they have a direct relation with landowners and/or management, and whereby the sindicato may regulate these relations. Since campesinos are now owners of their land, and in general do not work for a landowner or boss, their position differs in this respect. However, even though they have no direct boss, they are exploited by merchants, intermediaries, hauliers, authorities and city people,

and thus need to become united in a sindicato so as to avoid an exploitation similar to that prior to the land reform.

All campesinos are members of the sindicato. Every person or family that lives in the rural areas and lives on agricultural production belongs to the sindicato campesino. No requirement, in the form of a vote, or payment, or personal decision for membership is necessary.

The membership consists of campesinos from different 'cultures': Quechuas, Aymaras, Guaranies and others in the eastern plains. This kind of sindicalismo is not only motivated by economic and social interests, but also by cultural ones. It must fight against cultural and not only economic oppression.

Since its initial stage, the sindicatos have been identified with the whole community. It is not a question of a sindicato in the community, but rather a sindicato of the community. The whole community is involved and organized whether it wishes it or not. It is a "modern" type of organization for the community. The sindicato and the community become identified as one, and all community members are considered sindicato members.

This latter point is said to reflect the unity which is assumed to exist in the community. In this ideal presentation, the mobilization of the whole community becomes easier. However, Iriarte continues, in some communities, behind the name of "sindicato campesino" hides a "traditional" form of organization. What makes a sindicato different from traditional forms of organization, is that it aims to be an organized group seeking through change to improve socio-economic conditions. The "negative" consequence, says Iriarte, often is that the sindicato very easily falls into the "traps" of "traditional rural organization", which are allegedly not very apt for innovative conditions. (Iriarte, 1980) <sup>a</sup> .

The following, according to Iriarte, are the main posts within a sindicato in a community:

"Secretary General": the main authority for internal and external relations of the community;

"Relations Secretary": assistant to above, and in his absence assumes the role of Secretary General;

"Minutes Secretary": the main task is to record resolutions and to take the register at meetings, and to be in charge of writing correspondence;

"Education Secretary": with the collaboration of the Director of Education for that area (Ministry of Education post), and the local teacher, he should encourage the education of men and women through courses and other activities, and make sure members of the community have a good understanding of what a sindicato entails;

"Agricultural Secretary": in charge of agricultural activities;

"Press Secretary": link with media sources in town;

"Sports Secretary": arranges football championships within the community and between communities in the area. In this way contact between sindicatos is encouraged.

Among the achievements attributed to the sindicalismo campesino the most prominent are its contributions to the implementation of land reform and to rural education. The same booklet claims that the sindicato campesino is the instrument for "true economic, political, social and cultural liberation of the Bolivian campesinos" (Iriarte 1980).

At a national level, Iriarte presents the following diagram of the "correct" form of sindicalismo campesino.

sindicatos at the level of the communities

"subcentrales sindicales" - at the Canton level

"centrales provinciales" - at the Provincial level

"federaciones departamentales" - at the Department's level

"Confederation Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia"

-

- at a national level

At the Departmental and national levels strong links with the Workers' Union at equivalent levels should be maintained.

It is significant that with the 1952 revolution the term "Indian" was censured as a pejorative one, and in its place the term "campesino" was brought in. This term is now widely used within Bolivia, not only by people from the cities but also by campesinos themselves. The change of terms was also an attempt to minimise, at least rhetorically, socio-economic and political differences between the Bolivian population. In the last few years, there has been, however, a return to the use of the term "Indian" particularly by groups such as the Kataristas in La Paz.

#### The last decades

While some writers have stressed the importance and effectiveness in terms of stated objectives of the sindicato campesino, - and in some areas, and at certain times, this is arguably justified - there have equally been periods and areas where the sindicatos have been advantageous mechanisms for those in power. Following the overthrow of the MNR Government in 1964 by a

military coup, the sindicatos became useful means by which the army articulated its pacto (agreement) between the Armed Forces and the campesinos. The army became increasingly involved in what it called social promotion and development projects, particularly in agriculture, road construction and maintenance, land clearance, as well as projects for rural school and house building, "community development" and "colonization" (resettlement). During this time there had been an increase in military aid by the U.S.A. Government. "Communist threats" were once again brought in as reasons for a stronger army. The army moved to weaken the political power of trade unions and both their internal security and foreign policy was punctuated by anti-communism which increased during the Che Guevara guerrilla campaign (Moore 1985).

Military Governments ruled in Bolivia (with short interludes of civilian rule) for the next eighteen years. Particularly during the 1970s development programmes and plans appeared to receive a great deal of attention from the "then military Government of Colonel Banzer. As will be shown in the chapter on Production, a large proportion of the national budget allocated to development projects in the agricultural sector went to the region of Santa Cruz where it was particularly directed to large and medium scale agro-industries. Also during the 1970s the Government set up 'Corporations for Development', one in each Department of the country. .

As a parallel development in the 1970s there emerged non-Governmental funds and development institutions, particularly directed towards the rural areas. The significance of this is discussed in more detail in the chapter on Development Themes. These institutions filled a gap left open by Government neglect, in terms

of resources and projects, particularly in the rural areas of Western Bolivia. 'Change' was now presented as necessary in terms of development and progress. Programmes and projects articulated their aims and actions by stressing participation, unity, organization, production, and conscientization. This change is seen by some groups to require modern leadership, one which can operate within the present economic and political system. Many institutions work with, mostly younger, men and women from campesino communities, most of whom have a knowledge of Spanish together with a degree of reading and writing skills. These men and women are known as promotores(as) and are given a prominent role in the implementation of developments projects. They are also given courses in the aspects of the project required for its implementation. Many development institutions implicitly and at times explicitly encourage the leadership of promotores within their own communities and in their areas in general. They are presented as the 'modern' kind of leadership which is seen to be currently required given present socio-economic conditions. The implications of these ideas and the role of promotores in general is discussed more fully in later chapters.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. During the early years of Independence, Simon Bolivar (a liberal at the forefront of the Independence movement, an active member in the formation of Republics after Independence in many South American Republics, who eventually came into conflict with rising elites in various countries), sought to improve the situation of the Indians in Bolivia by changing patterns of land distribution. His views were considered to be in conflict with the interests of the new ruling classes. The ideas he expressed regarding the rights of the Indians did not take on any kind of definite form until about 120 years later.
2. One of the Inca kings.
3. Minutes of Independence of the Provinces of 'Alto Peru' (translated by myself) from Historia General del Alto Peru hoy Bolivia by Luis Paz, Vol.2, Bolivar, Bolivia, 1919.
4. The Katarista Movement takes its name from a hero in the Indian rebellions of the XVIII Century, Julian Apaza (Tupac Katari).
5. The Standard Oil Company was set up in Bolivia in 1922 after the Richmond Levering Co. (RLC) of New York transferred all its oil concessions for US\$2.5 million. RLC started operations in 1920 with a concession of 1 million hectares.
6. This statement formed the basis of the front page on The New York Times on 13 April, 1952.
7. The terms 'mission' has both religious and military antecedents. The former goes back to earlier centuries: "a band of people united together to christianise"; the latter, more recent, refers to military operations and projects. The term is also used in diplomacy.
8. Iriarte is purposely used as a dominant source on sindicalismo campesino, since this booklet is frequently used and referred to by development workers in their discussions of sindicalismo campesino with campesinos.



## Chapter Two

### THE COMMUNITY AND SURROUNDING AREAS

#### Geographical background

The first time I entered the area of fieldwork was in a jeep belonging to one of the development institutions working in the region. We left Sucre at dawn. The university city with a population of 62,207, the capital of the Department of Chuquisaca', and known for its many beautiful colonial buildings was awakening to the music of church bells. On leaving Sucre the unpaved road climbs to the plains of Tarabuco. These are at an altitude of approximately 3,000 meters and the home of the Yamparas (pre-Inca Culture). The town of Tarabuco, an important trading centre, is particularly busy every Sunday, when people from surrounding areas come for trading. The distinct dress of Tarabuquenos is a particular attraction for tourists who also visit the area mostly on Sundays. After Tarabuco the road gradually begins a descent along high mountain ridges. With the descent the scenery changes. Vegetation is more abundant and plains are replaced by narrow valleys flanked by rivers and gorges. The next town is Zudanez (named after a hero in the War of Independence). The main road in Zudanez has chicherias (type of bars where chicha - corn beer - is sold), and small eating places for passing travellers - mostly transportistas (hauliers). The road descends further after Zudanez only to rise again near another smaller town called Tarabuquillo.

The final section of the journey is another descent into narrow valleys and undulating hills. The road winds along mountain edges and follows the course of the San Antonio river. About eight hours after we left Sucre we arrived in the town of Sopachuy.<sup>2</sup> The two rivers (San Antonio and Horcas) bordering the town give it, from a distance, the appearance of an island. This image is heightened by the coming together of the two rivers at the south end of the town.

The town of Sopachuy is the capital of the Canton of Sopachuy.<sup>3</sup> This Canton has fourteen communities, one of which is Horcas where I lived during my fieldwork. The closest end of the community of Horcas to the town of Sopachuy is approximately 12 kms west of Sopachuy, at an altitude of about 2,200 meters. As one continues along to the higher parts of Horcas the altitude increases gradually to about 2,600 meters. Beyond Horcas, in the same direction it rises to above 3,000 meters. That area is referred to as the "Alto" (high) by people in Horcas and is frequently visited for exchanges of produce and grazing of cattle. Sopachuy and Horcas are linked by a narrow path winding along undulating hills and crossing the river Horcas twice. During the rainy season (from November to February) a different path is mostly used. This crosses part of the neighbouring community of Silva, and takes a much wider turn avoiding crossing the river and following mountain edges. Many people have lost their lives attempting to cross the river during the rainy season; currents are extremely strong, and often, after heavy storms carry large stones and whole trees. When the path reaches Horcas it divides into three separate paths; one leads to the Eastern part of Horcas continuing to the neighbouring community of Paslapaya (about eight kms from Horcas); another path continues

along the Northern part of Horcas leading towards the community of Sipicani (about 16 kilometres from Horcas); and the third follows the Western part of Horcas towards the Alto. The two paths leading to the Alto and Sipicani are ascending, in parts along quite steep areas. The dividing point of the three paths is where the school of Horcas is situated. Next to that is the Church of Horcas (where I lived during fieldwork), and fairly close by, the small silo (built as part of one of the development projects in the area). These paths are often used for visits to the town and to neighbouring communities. Mostly, these journeys are done on foot. Very few are done on horseback.

The "community" is the smallest rural unit within Government administration. Most communities in the Canton of Sopachuy have a school building and an area for their own use. The latter is sometimes used to cultivate crops, and also as a sports area (mostly for football). Most communities also have a church. In Horcas, both buildings were erected by the local people themselves. Many community activities such as meetings and fiestas take place in the school and church respectively. The importance of the community is frequently stressed by 'outsiders' (development workers, the priest, town and city authorities, sindicato authorities in the town and city). The importance of the unity within communities is a topic frequently raised by development workers and echoed (my use of this term is discussed more fully in later chapters) by promotores. The unity of the communities is also spoken of in an ideal sense and linked with the sindicato of each community. Since 1953 the political organization within communities has been officially placed into the hands of the sindicato.

The Canton of Sopachuy is in the Province of Tomina. <sup>4</sup> It is well known for its narrow valleys, with a geographical area of 3,947 square kms, <sup>5</sup> and 31,074 inhabitants. The main crops cultivated in the Province are maize and potato. Wheat and certain varieties of potato are grown in the higher areas, while chili and peanuts are grown in the lower areas. Livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys, pigs, ducks and chickens) is also an important source of livelihood.

The town of Sopachuy (see map) has several shops and "chicherias". Sopachuy also has a hospital (built in 1980),, two churches, a school for all grades, and a centro de cursillos (a centre built by the local priest which provides accommodation and facilities for running courses). The latter is mostly used by the town priest (Catholic), and the development institutions working in the area. Town meetings are also held at this centre.

Two languages are spoken in the area; Quechua (introduced by the Incas) and Spanish. The majority of the population (in the Department of Chuquisaca and in the area of Sopachuy) are Quechua speakers. In the communities Quechua is spoken at all times. Older people and most women speak only Quechua. Younger men (in their late teens, twenties and early thirties, i.e. those who have had some schooling in their local or town school) speak some Spanish as well. Those men who have also travelled to other Departments (where Spanish is mostly spoken) are more fluent in Spanish than those who have not travelled. Most town people are bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, although they give Spanish a higher rating in terms of prestige. A few town people, such as the priest, the nuns, most hospital staff, some of the teachers, do not speak Quechua, or if

they do, it is limited to a few words and phrases. Most development workers speak Quechua well.

The contexts in which the different languages are spoken vary. During visits from development workers and during their meetings Quechua is spoken and many Spanish loan words are included. Some of these words are understood by those campesinos (mostly younger men, some of whom are promotores, who have a knowledge of Spanish. Their participation during development workers' visits to communities is more vocal than other members of the communities. Outside the context of meetings, promotores sometimes speak to development workers in Spanish. In the town Spanish is spoken by people in the town, unless they are speaking with campesinos. The areas in the town where both languages may be regularly spoken are the chicherias. In chicherias, town people switch from one language to another depending on with whom and why they are speaking. For intimidation and exclusion Spanish may be spoken. For inclusion and seeking information Quechua is spoken; particularly in conversations between compadres. It is in chicherias that these differences are particularly noticeable. During meetings in the town Spanish is spoken, even though some of those attending may not have a full grasp of the language. The content of courses for promotores is mostly in Quechua, but a great deal of Spanish is spoken during the breaks and in the evenings. campesinos visiting the institutions' offices in Sucre speak in Quechua, especially when speaking to a development worker with whom they already have contact. In the cities Spanish is spoken. There are however, certain areas where Quechua and Aymara (depending on the region) are also spoken. For example, in the markets, in chicherias and certain

suburbs. Many institutions are producing leaflets and printed matter in either Quechua or Aymara (depending on which region they operate in) for distribution among campesinos in the rural areas. Ironically, most printed material for distribution among campesinos has to be done in Spanish, since most campesinos can only read in Spanish. The teaching of Quechua or Aymara is not part of the official school curriculum in rural areas. All subjects (including reading and writing) are taught in Spanish. In other words, Quechua may be spoken by the rural teacher, but what is taught must be recorded in Spanish by the children.

#### Historical background

A 1608 description of the Province of Tomina says: "in the narrow valleys the Spaniards have their "haciendas" (country estates), and between these, land is rocky and sterile - not cultivable..... The language spoken is that of the Incas, and also that of the Chiriguano Indians.... It is a Province known as the frontier zone of the war of the Chiriguanos... they frequently disturbed with their attacks and thefts...."<sup>6</sup>. Today the area is sometimes referred to as frontera (frontier). During the days of the Inca empire, clashes between Incas and Chiriguanos are said to have been frequent. The Chiriguanos continued their sporadic presence in the area during Colonial times. The Catholic Church also became prominent in the area during Colonial days. The same description reads: "The Bishop of Sucre has nine parishes with 4,426 parishioners". "There are 641 Spanish people; 150 mulattos"<sup>6</sup>. Later descriptions of the area state that some of the mountains in

the Canton of Sopachuy have veins of silver, copper and lead. Forty haciendas were registered in this Canton towards the end of the Colonial period. The Canton of Sopachuy like the rest of the Province of Tomina, is said according to this description, to have been the scene of heroic and patriotic acts by the Guerrilleros (in the war of Independence).<sup>6</sup>

Stories , legends and historical accounts of the area are sometimes talked about both in the town of Sopachuy and the communities. Accounts of the past as expressed by town people tend to stress the heroic moments of the area, specially those relating to the War of Independence. The following account was given to me by two old men in the town. Both are still landowners in the area and hold important positions of power in the town. They have frequent contact with campesinos through labour relations and compadrazgo (godparents) ties. Their accounts are particularly significant in the demarcations they make between campesinos and non-campesinos.

The Incas' empire expanded to this area; they came along the Mountain range of Mandinga from the Province of Tarabuco. They came down to this area and were captivated by the scenery of an island between two rivers. There were savages in this area who fought against the Incas. The Incas took the Island and used the rivers as barriers for protection. They placed their women in what is now the town of Sopachuy, and made the island into a kind of harem. The name Sopachuy comes from those times 'supay-chuck' meaning Island of

the Devil. The battles between the Incas and the savages continued for many years, but once the Incas settled here they maintained it as part of their empire. During 1585 the King of Spain gave lands to men whose efforts had been involved in the Conquista. One of these, Jose Linsa y Lines is said to be the founder of Sopachuy. The Dominicans were established in Sopachuy and founded a convent (in the place where the current parish house now stands). In the square of the town stood the jails for men and women, the office of the Corregidor (Crown authority in the rural areas), and the morgue for the poor; the rich placed their dead (before burial) in the Church. There are two Virgins as patrons of the town: Virgen de los Remedios (patron of the square), and Virgen del Rosario (patron of the town). During the War of Independence (1810-1825) the area produced many heroes: Wallpa Rimachi and Juana Azurduy de Padilla, both fought in this area. They took over the barracks in El Villar (another town in the Province) and had a large following. A very beautiful daughter of one of the Spaniards living in Sopachuy fell in love with Wallpa Rimachi (not a Spaniard). The fury of the father when he found out about his daughter's feelings led him to kill her. The sadness and tragedy of this occurrence was talked about for years.

Further important events in the area relate to the ex-president of Bolivia, Narciso Campero, who lived in



Sopachuy. His wife - Lindauro Insuatigui de Campero - had land in Horcas, and this lady is said to be responsible for passing down much of what is known about the area today. For example, the tale of the two sisters known as Belicas (daughters of a Spaniard and his Indian maid) lived in a Cave in Paslapaya. They used to hide there from the Spaniards and were known in the area as the witches. They too, knew lots of stories about events during those times and the general history of the town of Sopachuy. The two sisters were always seen together and regarded with caution for the powers they were said to have. They knew much about the people in the area and could also bewitch people whom they considered harmful. The way they were said to live in a cave and the sudden appearances in the town and other places added to the mystery around them.

The golden age of the town of Sopachuy was in the 1920s. There were many "good families" - "traditional families" living in the town then. There were many who were doctors of medicine and law and they were able to practise here. Times were good, so much so that people from other parts of the country migrated to the town. A large group came from Cochabamba and settled in a part of the town. Now only the old remain from these families. The children are sent to the cities to be educated and they only return home for the Christmas

holidays. Now there is an "invasion of campesinos" who are buying land and houses in town.

The two old men have considerable economic power in the town and in the area in general. As landowners they employ, during some periods of the year, campesinos from the area. Campesinos also need to rely on people like these men who are also hauliers and shopkeepers in the town. They sit on several committees of the town and are members of the Agricultural Association (comprising mostly people of the town, but also including a few campesinos in the area) which is currently seeking Governmental recognition in order to be eligible for some form of financial support. During the national elections they played an important role in dealing with political party representatives and the organization of the political campaign in the area. They have strong links with the authorities in the town who hold a similar socio-economic position. Both men are considered to be knowledgeable about the history of the area, and their accounts are taken as evidence of what happened in the past by most people in the town. In social gatherings in their private houses and /or in chicherias these stories were often told and not questioned by their audiences.

Their accounts about the past stress the boundaries between campesinos and non-campesinos. In those cases where there might have been a transgression of boundaries, mysterious and tragic figures emerge, for example, the Belica sisters and the daughter of a Spaniard who fell in love with Wallpa Rimachi. Furthermore, the periods identified in history are clearly separated; Inca, Colonial, and Republican. Heroes are maintained within clearly marked ethnic

categories making no allowances for such collaboration between the various ethnic groups as historical evidence shows existed.

The voiced importance of the Independence War and of the local heroes who were said to have fought in the area against the Spanish Colonial rule is not shared by people in Horcas. Independence War "heroes" glorified in the town were not part of discussions of the past in Horcas. In Horcas and in neighbouring communities stories of ghosts and accounts of encounters with lost souls are often given. People explained that the abundance of ghosts and lost souls in the area was due to the many killings and fights that had occurred in the region in the past. There are also accounts of a Incahuasi (house of the Inca), in the shape of a steep and large rock, on the way up to the Alto in which one could see visions of gold, and any attempts to touch the gold would turn the gold into a snake. Gold and silver were ornamental during the Inca empire. It is only with the invasion of Spain that these metals acquire an economic value closely related to status and prestige. Gold turning into a snake at the mere touch of human hands could be interpreted as a mediating metaphor between the different values attributed to these metals. One is reminded of Taussig's treatment of symbols as mediators between the different cultures, between the different modes of production (Taussig, 1979). When reference is made as to how things were done in the past the "antiguos" (ancients or those of the past) and the ancestors are mentioned.

Many of the ghosts (which incidentally can appear today) in the stories told of the past referred to figures dressed in what were described as the clothing of priests (long white tunics).

These figures hover at night in spots where a killing or a malevolent event is thought to have taken place. People say, it is difficult to see their faces, all you can see is the white shape floating just above the ground. They should be ignored and not allowed to go in front of one, as one is walking along paths. Many of the killings and disputes which took place are said to have been about money and possessions. Today, like then, for protection coca leaves should always be carried by everyone. As is shown in later chapters, coca leaves are important ingredients in rituals and offerings. Their use also extends to daily consumption by both men and women. Leaves are chewed while resting during the day and in the evenings while chatting. It is particularly important to have coca leaves with one when travelling on long and short journeys. While resting coca leaves are chewed and physical tiredness is alleviated. Furthermore, they are believed to act as a form of protection from ghosts and evil spirits in dangerous places while on journeys.

These accounts are more blurred when compared to those given in the town about the past. In fact past and present become interchangeable at times when figures of the past appear in the present. Whether an account concerns a campesino or a non-campesino is not always clear either. The clear demarcations between campesinos and non-campesinos made in the town are not stressed in Horcas. Conceptions of the past by most town people are clearly delineated and what is brought to the present in the recollections and accounts are mostly the actions of heroes and the mystery and drama of those who transgressed the ethnic boundaries. In Horcas past, present and to some extent future, are not clearly separated.

Similarly, the characters are often faceless, and the actions not identified as heroic, but rather malevolent, a malevolence which persists till this day in certain places, such as the hovering ghosts from which one needs protection on journeys.

However, accounts of more recent history do not always follow this pattern. The most significant event in recent years, recognised both in the town and in the communities, was the Land Reform of 1953. Some landlords, hauliers, shop keepers, and authorities in Sopachuy believe "things were better before" since they claim "production levels were higher", "labour was always available", "relations with the campesinos were easier". These issues are frequent topics of conversation, especially among the older generation of these groups in the town. Many of them are involved in legal disputes with campesinos over rights to plots of land. Some of these people also blame development institutions working in the area for the difficulties in working with the campesinos. Development workers are accused of putting the wrong ideas into campesinos' heads since some development workers are pejoratively called "communists". Many campesinos often refuse to work as paid labourers for landowners. According to the latter this is because they are "lazy", or because the Priest has spoilt them by paying them higher wages, or because development workers are also spoiling them with "these so called development projects of theirs".

People in Horcas, especially older people, felt that having the right to land was extremely important. They, and younger men, valued the option they sometimes had as to whether or not to work as paid labour. Land is considered a part of the household to which its members can return even if they are working in another part of

the country. "It is always here, and those of us who stay behind will continue to work the land". The other events associated with 1953 (the introduction of education and the right to vote) are not valued to the same extent. As is discussed in later chapters, schooling of children and voting were often presented as compulsory together with threats of fines for those who did not send their children to school and for those who did not have evidence of having voted. In Horcas, those households who did send children to school only sent one child from each, even though there may have been more than one child eligible for school attendance.

Until the Land Reform, links with "the outside" were through the "kuraca" (local campesino leader). This term is discussed more fully in the chapter on History. Other links with the outside were the administrator, the "patron" (the landowner), and the Canton and Provincial authorities based in the town. A great deal of the Government's administering of law and order within the haciendas was in the hands of the corregidor (the Government Canton authority). Landowners were said to be "responsible" for the physical and spiritual well being of their colonos (campesinos within the hacienda system). Cultivable land in the lower region of Horcas was distributed between two haciendas. Although the Reform decreed the immediate distribution of land, this, (especially in the Department of Chuquisaca) took many years to be implemented. Even today land disputes continue on account of unclear ownership of land, limited number of title deeds granted to campesinos, and the continuation, in some areas, of some large estates registered with different titles.

Although the implementation of land distribution has been a lengthy process, the 1953 national reforms brought several changes to the area. Through a series of political moves by the political party in Government - the MNR, the term "Indian" (which had acquired pejorative meaning) was declared undesirable and replaced by the term "campesino" (rural dweller). Furthermore, campesinos were given prominence in the political rhetoric in a different style than before. Rural education became compulsory and the "sindicato campesino" was encouraged. During those years the links with the "outside" gradually took on new names and functions. Dirigentes sindicales (sindicato leaders) in a sense replaced the kuracas, the rural school teachers and area rural school directors (Directores de Nucleo) became an important link, together with the sindicato authorities in the town, and Government officials attached to the newly created Land Reform Institute, responsible for the implementation of the Land Reform. Rural teachers and school directors have become more important in the area, not only because of their formal role as teachers, but as intermediaries between communities and towns, between campesinos and town and city authorities. They offer certain "goods" and "services" which were previously not provided. The school in the community became the first formal and institutional link with Government bureaucracy. The sindicato became a link with the "national society". These links, especially in the early years just after the Land Reform, were extremely valuable for campesinos in acquiring land and title deeds.

### The Community

La comunidad de Horcas (the community of Horcas) gets its name according to some of its inhabitants from a wild and prolific local flower, well known for its capacity to retain rain water within its petals. People in the town of Sopachuy, on the other hand, give the river of Horcas and the "horca" (hay fork - sometimes used for the cultivation of wheat) as the source of the name of Horcas.

The full name "San Juan de Horcas" as written over the local school dates back to the beginning of the century when the grandfather of one of the present landowners, a devotee of St. John the Baptist, bought a statue of the Saint, and in a ceremony involving the town priest and many people from Horcas, placed the saint's statue in the "casa de hacienda" (country house of the estate) and added the saint's name to that of Horcas. Today the statue is placed in the teacher's living quarters next to the church, and during the dates when St. John is commemorated in Horcas, the statue is placed in the church.

Horcas has 83 families, a total population of 354. None of their houses are next to one another. As in all communities in the area, the houses are scattered around a fairly large geographical area. Most houses are dispersed along the narrow valleys which undulate gradually and rise higher and higher as one walks in the direction of the alto. From the end of Horcas nearest to Sopachuy to the furthest point towards the Alto, it may take approximately one to one and a half hours to walk. Each adobe house is positioned next to one of the plots of land in use by a household. The common features of most houses are the entrance facing away from the path,



a patio surrounded by the rooms of the house, and a wall made of stones piled on top of one another about a metre in height, or made of tree and bush branches covered in mud. Stone-made walls are more common in the higher areas of Horcas. Most houses have one main room for sleeping in, and storing belongings (clothing, weaving, blankets, ponchos, llijillias,<sup>7</sup> sacks, ropes, tools), and a second smaller room which is the cooking area. A minority have one or two extra rooms and larger patios. Very close to the house, are the corrals for the sheep and goats, made of tree trunks and branches. A few households have a further corral for cattle. Most families who own cattle only have one or two animals which are kept in someone else's corral or tied near to the house. The fields in Horcas are mostly used to grow maize and potato. Early accounts of the area describe the abundance of thickly wooded mountain slopes. These have disappeared to a large extent. Many parts of the slopes have been chaqueados (burned and prepared for cultivation) over the years. Thus wooded areas are few and restricted to the steeper parts of mountain slopes where cultivation would be difficult.

The river of Horcas divides the narrow valley. Houses are on both sides: some are fairly close to the river. Two tributary streams also have water all the year, i.e. not only during the rainy season, when other short term and smaller streams come to life. People rely on the streams and river for the water for home use, for their animals and for irrigation.

In the lower regions of Horcas, land extends along narrow valleys and irrigation is possible. These regions have been part of the hacienda system since Colonial times. In the higher areas, cultivation relies solely on rainfall, and consequently crops and

cropping patterns and seasons differ from the lower areas. The higher areas have also been grazing areas used by landowners and campesinos.

### Social Organization

In agricultural communities such as Horcas, the household is seen as the fundamental unit. It is a unit in the sense that its members work together on the land and making use of common goods: land, livestock, and agricultural resources. This economic basis of the household is widely referred to by "outsiders", such as Development workers. People in Horcas share this basis for the identification of the household, and include a bond with the land in use, not necessarily expressing it in terms of an economic resource.

Membership generally consists of husband, wife and children. The average number of children within a household is four. Most households also include one or more members of the extended family, the father and/or mother of the husband, a younger brother or sister of the husband, children from a previous union, from either the husband or the wife. When the husband is away on prolonged periods of migration his wife and children share the house with his parents. Widows share the house, mostly with one of their sons. Living alone is considered strange. As far as I know only one man, Octavio, one of the jampiris in Horcas, lived alone. It was said his wife had left him and lived in the town with their two daughters. The strangeness of his living alone added to the general mystery which was attributed to him. I myself was frequently questioned as to why I chose to live alone. After a few weeks of my arrival in the community, children from houses fairly close to the Church where I

lived would frequently come and offer to spend the night with me so that "I would not feel so bad living alone".

The eldest man is considered the head and he usually represents the household in community matters. Decisions within the household are mostly the result of general chatting within the household. These may include allocation of activities among its members, whether an adolescent son should migrate for a number of months, decisions concerning the union of a son or a daughter, (young people now say that these decisions are mostly their own, and not necessarily with the consent and intervention of their parents as in the past), decisions concerning exchanges, trips to the town, and so on. Many of these decisions may be taken after consultation with the jampiri (he who cures) or the aisiri (he who knows). This is further discussed in the chapter on Knowledge. Succession to the headship is taken up by the widow (in cases of death), or by the wife (in cases where the husband is absent for a time). This is particularly the case if there are no sons of marriagable age (early twenties). In cases where there is a son of marriagable age, but single, the mother continues to be the head of the household.

Attendance at the weekly Sunday meetings was mostly by the heads of households, or their wives (if the heads were absent, and failing this, the eldest son). Women attended these meetings (in lower numbers than men) but hardly participated in the discussions. Those who did were mostly older women.

These meetings, as will be discussed in later chapters, were called by the dirigente (leader) of the sindicato of Horcas. Mostly these meetings were called to discuss matters concerning the community, but in relation to its links with the outside. For

example, to discuss matters concerning the local school and the local teacher. The teacher, on these occasions, would tell the dirigente to bring up the matter in the next meeting. Similarly, many of the development workers would inform dirigentes of their plan to visit their communities on a particular Sunday in order to discuss matters of the projects with the community members. Authorities from the town would also choose these meetings to discuss the matters which they considered necessary with members of a particular community. Those young men working as lideres catequistas (catechist leaders) were told, by the priest, to have a kind of Sunday service every Sunday, just before their weekly meeting of the community. A minority of communities had these weekly Sunday services, before their meetings. Mostly, before meetings, a game of football would take place while the women and older men sat around in groups chatting, and the children played around the football game.

On the occasions when no outsiders suggested topics for discussion, meetings would sometimes not take place at all. If they did they were to discuss issues which concerned some link with the outside, for example, to distribute foodstuffs which were given to community members in exchange for labour on road clearing in the area. This scheme was run by one of the Government Institutions and one private development institution working on projects in the area. Internal matters of the community, for example, disputes between households, were not discussed at these meetings. On one occasion, a widow brought up the problem she was having with the man (also from the community) who was ploughing her field in exchange for daily meals, and after the harvest, a percentage of the crops

produced. A heated argument began between the widow and the man in question which was followed by laughter from most people present. The dirigente (who leads these meetings) put a stop to the whole issue by telling everyone that such things should not be discussed at those meetings. Weeks later, I learned that the issue had been dealt with by one of the aisiris.

### Marriage

"Marriage" is a source of miscommunication and conflict between campesinos and the priest. The latter does not recognise any other forms of marriage ceremony other than Catholic. Any couples who have not undergone such a ceremony are referred to by him as "sinful", "pagan" and "uncivilized". Couples in Horcas may live together for years and have children before having any kind of marriage ceremony. A strong requirement for having a marriage ceremony is availability of adequate resources. In other words, the capacity to provide sufficient quantities of chicha, other alcoholic drinks such as mistelitas (alcohol mixed with a colourant), food, decorations and new clothes for the couple are considered essential for a marriage ceremony. When resources are available a Catholic ceremony is sought by couples. The priest frequently puts pressure on couples to have a Catholic ceremony by refusing to baptise their children if the parents are "not married" in his eyes. Another form of pressure is used when he visits communities during their fiesta day and celebrates mass. During the sermon he publicly reads out the names of those couples "living in sin", and urges them to have a Catholic marriage ceremony. Furthermore, a marriage ceremony is not only dependent on the availability of resources, couples

traditionally are required to spend several years living together prior to any form of ceremony.

In the past marriage arrangements were said to have been stricter, in the sense that the parents of the man would take the initiative and ask the parents of the woman if they favoured such a union. The woman's disagreement was not considered an obstacle. If there was an agreement by both sets of parents, a "challa" (Que.) (a frequent ceremony for good omen, relating to the start of something, not only marriage), was performed in celebration of the arrangements. A further ceremony, the "tinka" (Que.) (gift exchanges) was performed as a cementing of a bond of exchange relations. These ceremonies continue at present, but the consent of the parents is not considered essential.

More often than not, decisions to marry are now taken by the couple themselves. The most common meeting times for young men and women are during fiestas, visits to town, or while looking after grazing cattle and sheep. Courtship may involve months of playful behaviour between the man and woman. This behaviour will give signals to one another of their mutual interest (or lack of it on the part of one of them). For example, he may playfully take her hat and run away with it. Her interest in him may be expressed by her running after him and attempting to recover her hat. There are several of these playful activities which take place during fiestas and at other times too. Although, it is said to have happened more in the past, a couple may decide to run away from the community and settle in another region, if opposition to their union is very strong from either or both sets of parents.

After a couple have lived for several years together, decisions to have a marriage ceremony may be taken. There are marked differences in terms of marriage ceremonies between people in the town (such as landowners, shopkeepers, transportistas, officials and teachers) and most people in communities. The former not only marry people of their "own class", but also tend to have prestigious (in their eyes) Catholic marriage ceremonies making them 'properly' married as opposed to 'unions' of campesinos in the communities. Most of the campesinos who have now moved into the town (many of whom run the chicherias) have had a Catholic marriage ceremony.

A large proportion of marriages in Horcas involve people from Horcas. Many of these cross the distinctions within Horcas (these are discussed later in this chapter). People from the higher levels in Horcas sometimes called tatitas do marry people from the lower levels who refer to themselves mostly as Horquenos. There are also marriages between people from different communities. On these occasions the woman moves to the community of the man. There are however, several cases in which the man takes up residence in the community of the woman.

Kinship relations play an important part in people's everyday lives. These relations constitute a strong basis for exchanges and for residence. The location of land often determines the location of the house. Frequently, distribution of land among the sons and daughters in inheritance divisions, positions their households in fairly close proximity to the house of the parents. For example, the family of the Galarzas (parents and four brothers with their respective families) live in five houses in close proximity to one another. Their houses are spread along three

hectares of land they own. In 70 per cent of the houses, the nearest neighbours were kin, not necessarily sons and parents, but cousins and uncles, brothers, and so on. However, not all households in geographical proximity are linked by kinship ties. Geographical proximity of houses is also determined by the location of land as distributed by landowners (prior to the Land Reform), and by Land Reform authorities since 1953. Those households on the higher altitudes of Horcas have been less affected by landowners distribution of land, and the geographical proximity of households tends to be determined to a greater extent by kinship ties.

Ayni (mutual help) exchanges (in terms of labour and produce and/or goods) are frequently based on kin relations. Marriage ties serve to link or reinforce links between households within a community, or between communities. Exchange of labour between households linked by kinship ties are more frequent than those between non-kin. Similarly exchanges in preparations for fiestas are predominantly among kin, but not exclusive of more distant kin and non-kin within and outside the community.

Exchanges also include arrangements for the use of common and individual pasture areas, and for the use of water for irrigation. Cattle from two or more households may share pasture areas in exchange for agricultural produce grown on a different altitude level, or for labour. Within Horcas and extending to other neighbouring communities and, to some extent, to the town, a network of exchange relations constitutes an important element within the social organization of Horcas. Within Horcas, exchange relations between the lower and upper sections of the community are especially noticeable.



### Land Tenure

According to the Land Reform, land tenure for the campesinos was of two kinds: "dotacion" (endowment) of "title deeds given by the Government to all campesinos who do not own land"; "cooperativas" (cooperatives), land given by the Government to campesinos for communal work. In the case of the Department of Chuquisaca the average size of a dotacion is 7,3 hectares. In Chuquisaca, distribution of land after the Land Reform took several years, and is still not complete. Although the size was stipulated, the size actually granted varied a great deal. These discrepancies also occurred in Horcas and surrounding areas. Of the 14 colonos in Horcas, only eight had title deeds. In two cases these so called title deeds were in fact letters from the landowner (of the time) stating that such and such a field had been given to so and so. In cases of disputes over land ownership these letters would not be legally recognised as titles. The size of land given varied, on average, between 1,5 to 5,5 hectares. The Land Reform also stipulated that ex-landowners would receive an average size (within Chuquisaca) of 9,3 hectares in what was termed "consolidación" (consolidation), i.e a ratification of title deeds to ex-landowners of haciendas. In Horcas, as in neighbouring communities, variations on this occurred. The two landowners in Horcas claimed to be within and even below the amount stipulated. campesinos argued that they used more than the nine hectares granted to them by law. One of the landowners sold (to one of the campesinos in Horcas) a plot which had been under dispute for several years with another campesino. Boundaries between plots were often in dispute. The exact size of land used by families in the

upper altitudes of Horcas was difficult to determine. A great deal of this land is used as grazing areas and as forest areas. Boundaries demarcating a field one year could alter the following year. A further difficulty was a reluctance to refer to size of land in terms of measurements. Suggestions to measure fields were met by a disapproving silence. On average, and at an estimate, most households had access to a total of approximately 2.5 hectares. Households on the lower areas of Horcas, appeared to have access to larger areas for cultivation. Ponceano, who had recently bought land from one of the landowners, had access to an estimated seven hectares or so. He was known to have the largest area of land in the community of Horcas. The Galarzas (mentioned above), five households in close geographical proximity to one another, shared a total of three hectares. Each of the four brothers had worked on temporary labour jobs in other regions of the country, such as Santa Cruz and Chapare. One of the brothers had already spent the last 18 months in Santa Cruz, and only returned briefly for All Saints Day. According to my records, three individuals and one household were landless. Cenon (a young man in his early twenties, recently married and with a young child and whose mother had married a second time and moved to Horcas from another community) worked on the fields of his stepfather whose house he also shared. Cenon had migrated two consecutive years for three months on each occasion (during the slack agricultural periods). Severino (the dirigente (leader) had arrived from the Department of Potosi and married a woman from Horcas. He worked on his wife's land and was in frequent dispute with his brothers in law. Marcelo's grandfather had been a colono prior to the Land Reform, and had received land, but through

fragmentation of the field he had become landless. He was a 17 year old who said he preferred to work as an agricultural labourer in other areas earning more money than he would if he remained in Horcas. And finally, an old widow who lived with her young son was landless, as a result of losing "what little she had through disputes and witchcraft".

Land is inherited by both sons and daughters. Although women, in some cases through marriage, move to other communities, they still inherit land. These fields are worked by her kin members remaining in her community and in exchange, the woman concerned may receive only part of the crops harvested. Those men or women who have migrated to other regions in the country continue to own and inherit land (despite their prolonged absence in some cases). I was told that the size of the land inherited depended to a large extent on "how good a son/daughter had been to their parents". Those who had cared for their parents and been kind and thoughtful to them throughout their lives inherited more than those who had been unkind. The care with which the land was worked was a further consideration for decisions on the size inherited. "Ancestors knew how the land was considered and treated, they had worked on those plots before". Access to land, its location and size are further criteria on which distinctions are based. This is discussed later in this chapter.

Decisions relating to inheritance of land were on occasions over-ruled. I was told of the cases where the father had said he wished the son with whom he had shared his household for several years and who cared for him in the days of sickness, to inherit most of his field. Only a smaller proportion of the field was to be

inherited by the elder brother working in Santa Cruz for the last seven years. The elder brother with more knowledge of Spanish and the ways of legal authorities, took the younger one to a Provincial court and won the case.

The local and regional economic aspects are closely related to land, marriage and social organization within Horcas. These economic aspects are discussed below. Prior to that however, the town of Sopachuy is examined. It is the closest town to the community of Horcas and to the other thirteen communities in the Canton, consequently its relations with these communities and its general impact in the area need to be considered.

#### The Town of Sopachuy

Prominent people in the town of Sopachuy are recognised as such by campesinos for their capacity to employ people, for their authority vested in the position they may hold, for the degree of influence over other people, and for their hospitality record.

The arrival in Sopachuy of the current parish Priest, in 1979, is a recognised landmark for townspeople. His economic possibilities (from West German Catholic sources) have enabled him to build a hospital, to bring electricity to the town, to bring piped water, and to continue to be a source of employment in the building of the hospital (and new extensions), homes, extensions to the school, churches in neighbouring communities. Seven churches have been built in the last six years in several of the fourteen communities of the Canton (one of these in Horcas) The Priest sits on most of the committees in the town, and for any major decision, his opinion is always sought. Sunday mass and the sermons are a

further opportunity for influencing people (from the communities and town) as to what attitudes, ideas and actions people should have and act upon. Three nuns, also based in Sopachuy, run various concerns connected with the parish: the hospital, the convent for aspiring nuns and the centre for "Young campesino girls". The latter organises six and nine month courses in Sopachuy for girls from 12 to 20 years from neighbouring communities. During these periods girls must live in the Centre.

The 25-bed hospital is mostly run with West German funds, raised mostly from Catholic sources, but certain expenses and salaries of the staff are paid by the Ministry of Health. Medical staff consist of two physicians, one radiologist, two nurses, two auxiliary nurses and for short periods of three to four months, one or two German medical students. It is the best equipped hospital in the Province, in terms of operating theatre facilities, X-ray material, drugs, and so on.

Economic and political activity in Sopachuy is dominated by ten landed families. After the Land Reform, most of these families still continue to own land, albeit in smaller quantities, but in terms of quality, the land retained by them is the "best" (i.e. having access to irrigation, closer proximity to roads and paths, good flat soil). Most of these families now supplement their income by themselves becoming "rescatiris" or "transportistas" (hauliers and merchant middle-men). In addition, some of them have opened shops in Sopachuy. Many have intermarried, and the pattern now is to send the children to school and for further education to Sucre or to other cities. These families also dominate transportation to and from Sopachuy to Sucre and other areas. They own most of the

twelve lorries in Sopachuy which throughout the year make journeys to and from Sucre. Furthermore, they make journeys to other towns and fairs in the Department depending on the quality of harvests. What these families produce, together with what they buy and exchange from/with campesinos is mostly sold in Sucre or in other towns or cities. When returning to Sopachuy, rescatiris bring goods sought by campesinos, which are sold in Sopachuy and bought or exchanged by campesinos. The most popular of these are: coca leaves, sugar, cooking oil, rice, soap, alcohol, kerosene and clothes.

Prices of agricultural produce fluctuate depending on local conditions and the quality and quantity of harvests. A large proportion of these families have and rely on compadrazgo (relationships with campesinos of the area to buy and exchange agricultural produce from/with them). Exchanges may be for labour from campesinos in the fields of these families, or for articles brought from the cities or other areas, such as coca leaves, rice or alcohol. Lack of ownership or control of transportation by campesinos forces them to sell or exchange their agricultural produce with these families or with others in the town, rather than enter markets in Sucre or other towns. If they wish to do the latter, they depend on the transportation of these families who charge heavily for the transportation of agricultural produce and for passenger fares. Rarely do local campesinos in the area take their produce to Sucre or other towns since higher profits from sales are cancelled by transportation costs. Apart from the twelve lorries, other vehicles in the town are two small lorries belonging to the priest, and two jeeps used by the nuns (one often used as an

ambulance in cases of emergency). Intermittently, jeeps and two small lorries belonging to the development institutions were also to be seen in the town. Development workers used these to reach the town and other towns in the area, and to bring in seeds and fertilizers. Access to most communities in the area of Sopachuy was either by foot or on horseback. A few communities were sometimes accessible by road, depending on the conditions of the roads. During the rainy season access by vehicle was impossible.

A further group in the town of Sopachuy are the artisans: carpenters, masons, smiths, and shoe makers. Most of these have acquired their skills through apprenticeship gained within their families. Several are often employed by the local priest in the building or repair of works under his charge.

The owners of chicherias from distinct social groupings are mostly campesino families who have recently settled in the town. These bars are important meeting points dotted around the town and their clientele include most other social categories. Chicha is sold throughout the day. In the town chicherias are particularly popular and busy during feast days for example, during Carnival, All Saints Day, Christmas and New Year, and during the two weeks of the Fair of Sopachuy in July every year. On these occasions, the population of the town swells by approximately 40 per cent (with visitors and rescatiris from other towns and Sucre, with campesinos from the surrounding communities, and relatives of the town people). Particularly on these occasions the chicherias are points at which exchange of information and socializing takes place. Attendance at particular chicherias is not casual, the choice of one means a meeting point with particular people. Certain chicherias are

frequented by particular campesinos, not necessarily from the same community, and are also associated with these chicherias. During the feast days, chicherias are particularly busy. It is on these occasions that further meetings take place between campesinos from the various communities in the area, and also with people from the town. Other informal meeting points were the three pensions (eating and drinking inns). These eating places are mostly frequented by travellers passing through the town, by some of the teachers of the town school, and by most of the development workers while in the town. campesinos also frequent pensions, although less often than chicherias.

The existence of chicherias is openly condemned by the priest, who often chastises people by telling them that the only thing to have increased in the town, in recent years, is the number of chicherias. There are accounts of the priest entering a chicheria on a day commemorating a religious occasion and becoming so exasperated at the high numbers of people present in marked contrast to the number of people present in the church during the recently ended mass, that he kicked and broke several cantaros (large containers) of chicha and threw everyone present out, with strong and loud accusations of their being "sinful" and "pagan".

A further important group in Sopachuy are the teachers of the town school. This school teaches all grades from primary to highest secondary levels at which students can obtain their bachillerato (a requirement necessary for most further education). Schools in the communities (depending on the population of these) teach only the first, second and third grades of primary school. The teachers are mostly people from other towns, some from a



campesino background who have gone to rural teacher training colleges. Working in a town is considered a promotion and an improvement in status and conditions, by comparison with working in a community as a teacher. Many teachers in Sopachuy constantly attempt to get posted to other towns nearer to Sucre, or to Sucre itself.

Most of the pupils in the first grades of the school are children of town people. Approximately 30 per cent of all pupils in the first grades are children of campesinos from neighbouring communities. Some of these children walk to school every day, some as much as six kilometres each way. Other children whose parents live in more distant communities live with relatives, or with fictive kin (compadres) members in the town. The higher grades in school have fewer students. At the time of my fieldwork all these were children of town people. They were children of those families within the town who could not afford to have some or all of their children study in the more prestigious and better equipped city schools. The final grade, at that time, had only five students.

Teachers of the lower grades would often complain of the difficulty of having children of campesinos in their class. According to them campesino children lower the standard of the rest of the class; they are much "slower to learn", and many of them can "hardly speak Spanish", even though they have been through two years of schooling in the school of their own community. (All State run education is in Spanish. There are some teachers working in communities' schools who do not speak any Quechua).

The formal political authorities in Sopachuy are: the Mayor for the Municipality; the Corregidor (magistrate) as the Government

representative; the Chief of Police, his assistant, and the assistant's assistant. The latter was a campesino from a community in the Department of Potosi who had lived in Sopachuy for the past five years. He had left his community because his wife "had twice run off with other men". Few people in Sopachuy knew he was a pagh'o (an assistant to an aisiri (prominent people in communities generally known as 'those who know') - see chapter on Knowledge). Any services he performed as a pagh'o were done in the utmost secrecy. Some people mockingly referred to him as "007". A further authority in the town was the Canton representative of the sindicato campesino, generally known as the "Subcentral". He was from a local town family who had owned land in the past, but had moved to Sucre. There were no grey areas in peoples' attitudes towards "Don Boni". Most of the landowner and transportistas families openly voiced their disapproval of him and what he did. The priest also disapproved, and the latter's attitudes concerning people in the town were seriously acknowledged by most landowners. In other words, the priest's likes and dislikes of people in the town and communities were noted and taken into account during the appointment of people to posts in the town and area in general. Many campesinos feared "Don Boni", and tried to maintain good relations with him. A large proportion of his influence and power in the area came from his knowledge of what was happening in the communities and in the town, and from the people he knew within the hierarchy within the sindicato campesino at a Departmental level. He spent a large proportion of his time in chicherias in prolonged (sometimes for several days) drinking sessions with campesinos from neighbouring communities, or campesinos living in the town. He was

also an active member of the MNR political party, and heavily involved in political proselytism during the campaign for 1985 national elections.

Within Sopachuy people's influence and power varies in degree and source. For example, the two old men briefly described above, and the ten families referred to, are dominant in the area, mostly through their economic and political influence. They still own several hectares of good land (no one was willing/or able to tell me the exact quantity). One of the old men was reputed to have more land and animals than anyone else in the town. His house was the largest, and positioned slightly outside the town overlooking flat, fertile fields. He also owned more cattle than anyone else in the town - 20 Dutch cows which enhanced his reputation, as a good producer of cheese. This cheese was mostly purchased by visitors to Sopachuy, travellers, and by the priest and nuns in the town. Most townspeople complained at his high prices. A large proportion of his cheese was sold in Sucre. His two sons had studied in La Paz, and now work in cities. One is a doctor and the other an engineer. He is the President of the local Agricultural Association, and town representative for one of the two main right-wing political parties. He maintains good relations with the priest, which as will be shown later, is considered a prerequisite for maintaining an influential position in the town.

Another prominent man in Sopachuy came from a large landowning family - six brothers and sisters - most of whom still owned land in the area and held influential positions in the town. Most members of this family supplemented their income by being shopkeepers and transportistas. They were in their fifties and sixties

and had married into other landowning families in the town. Most of their children had studied in one of the main cities of the country, and were currently working in cities. Some members of this large family were particularly influential, not only through their economic position but also through their access to political influence. One of the sons of the man in question had taken up a career in politics and had in the recent elections become leader of the Camara de Diputados (lower chamber, in two chamber system of Government) in La Paz. His father and brothers were heavily involved in the national elections campaign in the Department of Chuquisaca. Support from the town and from Chuquisaca in general aided his position as congressman representing Chuquisaca. However, divisions within the family had recently split alliances to political parties between the brothers of the old man in question. Four of the brothers followed the first old man described above, while the other brother and sister followed the political party of the Congressman and son of the old man.

It is significant to note that although these two old men are influential in political and economic terms, their political influence appears to extend only to certain groups within the town, and not to the communities in the area. Voting within the town, in the national election of 1985 was divided between the political parties to which the two old men belong - one right wing and the other centre-left. Voting among the campesinos appears to have been influenced mostly by the activities of the subcentral and his exhortations. It is also worth noting that the political party for which most of the campesinos in the area voted - the MNR - is the same party which was in office during the Land Reform, to which, in

the latest political campaign, the Party made frequent references. It was presented in the rural areas as the Party which had given land to the campesinos. More detailed reference to these events and the participation of campesinos in the political system of the country as a whole will be made in later chapters.

#### Local and regional economy

Potato and maize are the mainstay of the region's economy, with subsidiary income from wheat, barley and other tuberiform crops. Most households in the community manage two potato harvests each year: the mishka (Que.) (early sowing), sown during the dry season and relying solely on irrigation; siembra grande (Sp.) (large sowing), sown during the rainy season relying mostly on rainfall for watering the fields. Mostly oxen are used for ploughing. There was only one tractor in the area and it belonged to the Cooperative. <sup>e</sup> The tractor had been bought in part by the development institution working with cooperatives in the Department of Chuquisaca, and in part with funds provided by the priest (the Vice-President of the Cooperative's Committee). The intention had been for the Cooperative members (made up of people from the town and campesinos from neighbouring communities) to borrow the tractor for use in their respective fields. However, after a couple of years there was much dissatisfaction among campesino and some town members. They felt excluded from the use of the tractor while certain people in the town made more use of it. This became a delicate issue, and many members suggested selling the tractor and buying instead a lorry to transport produce for the Cooperative members from Sopachuy to Sucre and other market centres. However, some members thought

this would create similar problems. The tractor was in any case proving difficult to sell since it often broke down and there was a lack of spare parts.

In the area of Sopachuy, marketing of agricultural produce is mostly in the hands of the dominant town families. These are people who owned haciendas in pre-Land Reform days and who continue to own land, although in smaller quantities. Their economic influence in the area is particularly marked not only by their greater capacity to employ agricultural labourers during the busy agricultural periods, but more especially by their new role (since the Land Reform) as transportistas (hauliers). They buy crops (at prices established by the supply and demand of the produce and depending on the quality and quantity of harvests) and/or exchange with campesinos. In other words, the crops they then take to sell in market centres, are in part crops harvested from their own fields together with those crops bought or exchanged from campesinos. Campesinos are rarely in a position to be able to market their own crops.

Furthermore, in the communities control over the price of agricultural crops and of production tends to be increasingly in the hands of "outsiders". Availability of land and access to resources are to a large extent dependant on the national system. Subsistence production in campesino communities in the country as a whole is often criticized by town and city people and cited as the reason for the poverty of campesinos. Landowners in Sopachuy often refer to the 'higher' level of marketable production in pre-1953 years and claim this was because production was directed towards a market economy. Although development workers in the area do not share such

views, most development projects aim to increase levels of agricultural production. Production levels in the area of Sopachuy have not changed a great deal in recent decades. Development institutions operating in the area for the last ten years or more, have only in the last few years (approximately since 1983) stressed "production" in their projects. By which largely they refer to volume of production, to a lesser extent productivity, and even less problems of relations of production.

One could say that the agricultural produce from each campesino household is divided in three parts. One is for consumption within the household, one is reserved as seed for the following season, and the third, providing there is a surplus, used for selling or exchanging. This is done in the town of Sopachuy or in other nearby towns and in the alto, or other neighbouring communities. The quantities allocated to each will vary depending on the quality and quantity of the harvest. Obviously, when a harvest has been poor crops are mostly used for household consumption. Other commitments (such as the role of the head of the household in the forthcoming fiestas, or payments in kind due to other community members, and so on) will also influence distribution of the harvest.

Some development workers were often surprised at the limited use of cash among campesinos in Horcas, and in other neighbouring communities.<sup>9</sup> When cash is required, crops, and/or other goods are sold in the town. A further, and significant source of cash is temporary labour in other regions of the country. However, a large proportion of this cash is turned into consumer goods, such as watches, radios, tape recorders, and clothes. Rarely

is it used for more long-term purposes such as buying land. In Horcas one man, who had worked for five years in Chapare (coca leaf growing area in the Department of Cochabamba) bought more land (five hectares). This, though, is exceptional.

Production in Horcas is thus in large part a subsistence type of production, with limited indirect participation in the market economy of the area. This type of production depends to a large extent on household and reciprocal exchange labour. The latter refers mostly to kin members in other households either within Horcas or from other neighbouring communities. It can however, also refer to other inhabitants of Horcas with whom an arrangement exists. Older people, whose sons are away on temporary migration labour, and especially widows, whose sons or sons in law are absent, tend to rely on this kind of arrangement.

Economic differences within Horcas are based on differential access to certain resources. The size and position of fields are important. Equally, ownership or non-ownership of oxen is a source of differentiation. Those households who do not own oxen must rely on borrowing them in exchange for crops. Depending on the previous harvest, availability or access to seeds is also significant. Many household heads in Horcas, and in other communities decided to enter one of the 'Production Projects' run by one of the development institutions in the area in order to facilitate access to seeds after a particularly bad harvest the previous season. The promotores on this occasion were much sought after.

Complementary sources of income are used by household members in communities. Examples are exchange of labour for kind, or use of oxen for kind. These arrangements are also made with



people in the town, mostly exchanging labour for kind, as when landowners engage campesinos for agricultural labour. Sometimes payment is made in cash, and the rate of pay varies from one region to another, and from one employer to another. At the time of my fieldwork, the average rate per day was the equivalent of one U.S. dollar. Its true value varied also from day to day due to the high inflation rate. Campesinos often complained about the low wages. During part of the time of my fieldwork, a day's wages would buy just one or two ounces of coca leaves which could be consumed in one day. A preferred source of employment in town was the priest. He tended to pay more than the landowners. The priest frequently expressed concern for the low wages and hoped that his higher wages would encourage landowners to pay better. This was not always the case, and many landowners were resentful, suggesting it was "easy for the priest since he had so much money anyway". The priest employs campesinos mostly as masons in the several buildings he has in the town. Payment is usually in cash.

A further and frequently sought source of income is temporary labour in other regions of the Department of Chuquisaca or of the country. This work is seasonal depending on the slack agricultural periods in Horcas, and busy periods in areas of temporary migration. For the harvest of maize in Monteagudo (a lower area 200 kilometres south of Sopachuy) some men from Horcas went every year. Santa Cruz in the lowlands (involving a long journey of at least two days in some form of motor transport) was another area where at least one third of the men in Horcas had been for one or two busy agricultural periods during the past ten years. Santa Cruz is particularly good for harvests of cotton and sugar

cane. Conditions of work and of lodgings there are so bad that a new sindicato for zafreros (those who cut sugar cane) has been set up and a development institution in Santa Cruz is dedicating a great deal of its resources and work to research and campaigns for better living and working conditions and the improvement of wages. In approximately the last ten years the Chapare (coca growing area which has increased in economic influence due to the illegal cocaine trade, and where many campesinos from different areas of the country find employment treading on coca leaves for the illegal processing of this drug <sup>10</sup>) has become an attraction due to the higher wages paid. In 1985, the daily wage offered in Chapare was thirty times greater than that offered in Sopachuy by a large number of landowners.

Most temporary migration to work in other regions is between May and July. During this period approximately 80 per cent of households in Horcas have at least one male member absent. About 25 per cent of households have or have had at least one member away for longer than just the slack agricultural periods. Although in the latter group, most of those away are unmarried men and a few unmarried women have been in domestic employment (mostly in Santa Cruz). Migration for periods beyond the slack agricultural times is in the majority of cases by those households who have limited access to the main resources, i.e. land, livestock, irrigation, seeds and fertilizers. A large proportion of them return to Horcas for short visits only. A popular time is during All Saints Day. However, as mentioned earlier, cash returns from work done during temporary migration do not alter socio-economic status in Horcas. Payment in Santa Cruz and Chapare is mostly in cash. In the latter,

part of the payment was formerly sometimes made in coca leaves; recent restrictions in transporting large quantities of coca leaves from one region to another without a licence have ended this system. Formerly, coca leaves were brought back to Horcas and exchanged for other goods. Cash savings, during this time of hyper-inflation, proved unrealistic.

Temporary migration has gradually increased since the 1960s and 1970s. Availability of land to the younger members of households decreases with each generation (due to the divisions of fields among those inheriting, together with the continuing disputes - since the Land Reform - over land ownership which in some cases dates back to the 1950s). A further reason for increased migration is attributed to the large proportion of the national budget allocated to the low lands in the Department of Santa Cruz. There the large estates (hardly affected by the Land Reform) which in the 1960s and 1970s were receiving greater financial support than in previous years were in greater need of labour power. Campesinos from the higher eastern areas of Bolivia were encouraged to move to Santa Cruz and/or to engage in temporary work there during the harvest periods.

Within Horcas other sources of livelihood include weaving (done by both men and women, depending on the item woven), rope making from hides, plough making and tool making from wood, and wood carving (plates, spoons, cooking utensils). Most of these items are made for use within the household but in times of need they are exchanged for other goods or cash. Women spend a large proportion of their time spinning wool. This they do while walking to places and during daily socialising. Some people also spend

time while on journeys gathering medicinal and ritual herbs (my distinction). Not all households produce these items mentioned above, but most make one or the other and exchange them for those not made within the household.

Temporary migration is closely linked to the agricultural calendar and to marked events in each community and in the area in general.

#### Seasonal highlights

Most activities in communities are talked about and take place in relation to cyclical highlights. When talking about a past event such as a birth or death, it is not referred to in terms of the month or week of the year when it took place. To pinpoint when an event took place reference to one or more of the cyclical highlights is made. The priest in particular, and to some extent development workers, lost patience when their questions as to when someone was born, or when some event took place, were met with replies which did not give the precise day and month, but rather said "it was around Virgen Guadalupe", or Virgen del Rosario and so on. Plans concerning a future event either within the household or within the community are also discussed in terms of the seasonal highlights. Particularly when talking of agricultural tasks reference to past seasonal highlights is made. For example, the amount of rain that fell during Christmas which had an effect on the maize plants. Similarly, events which might take place in future, such as someone leaving on migration or someone having a baby were related to these highlights.

These seasonal highlights which are closely associated with the agricultural cycle are the following:

- Fiesta of Horcas, St. John's day (24th June), is associated with:

clearing the mountain sides and preparing the soil (chaqueo),

sowing the mishka potato.

- Virgen de Guadalupe (8th September) associated with:

sowing of the siembra grande of potato.

- Virgen del Rosario (7th October) associated with:

sowing of maize.

- All Saints Day (1-4th November) associated with:

harvest of the mishka.

- Christmas associated with:

weeding and curing of maize and potato;

hilling and clearing ground.

- Carnival associated with:

sowing of wheat; potato harvest; weeding of maize

- Easter associated with:

harvest of maize and wheat.

In between these specified agricultural activities several days are devoted to travelling to and from neighbouring communities and towns in search of seeds which may be exchanged for other crops, goods, or labour. Attention to cattle is also included. They are taken to the area of the alto at the end of October, since land in the lower areas is being cultivated and feeding pastures scarce. Cattle are left to roam at the higher altitudes until April. Those families who have access to land on the higher parts of Horcas spend most of those months there.

More recently development workers are adjusting their activities in communities and timetables for courses for promotores to fit in with the above agricultural calendar. During the days of fiestas, particularly during All Saints and Carnival (the most important celebrations from the point of view of campesinos) their absence from communities is marked. They consider that on such occasions campesinos are distracted with celebrations and would not be receptive to any input from development workers. A further adjustment, made in the last year, from one development institution, concerned their own timetable for their annual evaluation meetings. It had been agreed in the last evaluation to hold such meetings, which involved every member of staff in all the offices, during the slack agricultural period, and not as had been done in the past, in accordance with the administrative section's requirements.

The seasonal highlights are not only related to agricultural activities, but mark important, as considered in communities, celebrations. These not only refer to the commemoration of religious occasions such as St. John's martyrdom, Christmas and All Saints Day, but are interwoven with activities related to

agricultural and cattle fertility, and general well being. The celebrations conducted during Carnival, for example, as is shown in the chapter on campesino themes, include offerings to Pachamama (sometimes translated as mother earth) and the apus (mountain spirits) which are considered necessary to safeguard the well being of animals, plants and harvests. Like the intricate relationship between the knowledge of medicinal herbs and ritual performance by jampiris, agricultural activities are intricately linked to these celebrations which also act as markers of social, agricultural, and economic events during the cycle.

The importance of these cyclical highlights vary from household to household depending largely on their access to resources. For example, limited access to land encourages longer periods of temporary migration to other areas. A discussion below of the distinctions within Horcas deals with these points.

#### Distinctions within the community of Horcas

Analyses by development workers frequently refer to campesinos as a homogeneous group. Discussions of the "reality" of campesinos rarely allows for distinctions between areas in a given region, let alone within and between communities. However, distinctions within communities are marked and based on a variety of partially overlapping criteria. In Horcas, for example, distinctions are in part based on presumed origin. Some of the household members say their ancestors moved to Horcas from the region of Yamparaez. The people of that region are said to be descendants of the "Yamparas" (Yampara Culture - one of several pre

Inca societies). Some household members say they have been there always, others have moved from the mining regions of Potosi.

Further criteria for distinctions are based on location of houses, whether on the higher areas of Horcas or the lower. This criterion is closely associated with ecological and climatic conditions. The latter bears on the type of crops cultivable at that altitude and the agricultural cycle does have some variations from the cycle in the lower areas. On the higher levels the sizes of fields tend to be smaller and steeper and larger proportions of land are used as grazing areas for cattle. In other words, the strategies employed in the use of resources available varies from those whose houses are located in the lower levels.

A primary distinction is based on dress. People living on the lower areas have a different style of dress. A larger proportion of their clothes are bought (i.e. manufactured), they also own more consumer goods. Their dress is very different to those of the higher areas. Most people in the latter level (both men and women) wear traditional clothing and are sometimes pejoratively referred to as "tatitas"<sup>12</sup> by people in the lower areas, town and city. The use of such terms as tatitas and talk of place of origin and dress vary depending on when, where and to whom these topics are mentioned. The choice of dress is altered depending on the activity involved. For example, some people from the higher areas tatitas maintain their traditional clothing when selling their ponchos and weaving to tourists and others in cities. On the other hand, when going on temporary labour migration to other areas, either within the Department of Chuquisaca or to other Departments like Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, their traditional clothing is



changed for the type of clothing worn by people living in the lower areas of Horcas.

People in the lower levels when talking about their place of origin are more likely to be Horquenos than those from the higher levels. The former talk of their membership to the sindicato, of their children attending school in Horcas and so on. The latter do not always mention Horcas as their home or place or origin, mostly they refer to names given to areas within Horcas (for example, Sunch'u Mayu') which are closely associated with the geographical position of their houses in terms of altitude. Their participation in sindicato meetings and activities is more sporadic than that of those in the lower areas, and fewer of their children attend the school. Furthermore, their participation in development projects is minimal. They do however participate in fiestas, exchanges and offerings.

A further criterion of distinction is based on self-perceptions of involvement with the hacienda system and historical forms of land rights and labour obligations. Originarios <sup>13</sup> for example, traditionally cultivated land on the higher levels and shared grazing rights with landowners. The hacienda relied on the labour of the colonos (campesinos living within the hacienda who were granted the right to work small plots of land and utilize the produce for their own consumption in exchange for gratuitous labour for the landlord. A further category who contributed with labour, but who did not have the right to use land for their own benefit, were arriantes (campesinos who were not of the area). These distinctions to a large extent affected the location of fields allocated to campesinos. Most of the ex-colonos and ex-arriantes

now use fields in the lower levels of Horcas. Both the latter were in more contact with landowners and were more involved within the hacienda system. These terms continue to be used today, particularly by landowners when referring to particular people who used to be "colonos" or "arrimante" in their hacienda. Development workers refer to them as examples of an exploitative system. campesinos themselves sometimes use them when talking of the past. Those who were not colonos nor arrimantes are proud of that fact.

Different forms of leadership are further criteria for distinctions. In the higher levels, the sindicato meetings, and the prominence of the dirigente (sindicato leader) are less influential. Furthermore, the promotor(es) have more contact and maintain relations related to development projects, to a larger extent, than those on the lower levels. The aisiris (those who know) operate within different sources of influence, and are able to exert their power within and between levels in communities and also between communities.

To illustrate the differences of leadership and their sources of influence in Horcas, I shall continue with a few brief character sketches of some prominent people in Horcas.

One of the most prominent is Severino (in his late thirties), the dirigente of the Sindicato of Horcas, who comes from the area of Potosi. He was reluctant to work in the mines and land in his own community was scarce. What land there was had been divided among his three older brothers. He had arrived in Horcas eight years previously, married a widow from Horcas and settled there. He has access to land which belongs to his wife, but has problems regarding this land with his brothers in law. Severino is

a very active man, either involved in agricultural activities, his duties as dirigente, or working for others as part of exchange agreements, and at times as labourer in the town. During the time I was in Horcas he was the key person for the development workers, for the teacher in Horcas, for the sindicato representative in Sopachuy, and for the authorities in Sopachuy. Severino was responsible for organizing meetings, getting messages across to people in Horcas, collecting dues, distributing foodstuffs (as part of an exchange scheme between some campesinos and the government for building and clearing roads in the area), and so on. People in Horcas also went to him when dealing with any people outside communities. However, within Horcas, Severino was regarded as "not trustworthy". People said they chose him because he had a good knowledge of Spanish and because he "is crafty". Dirigentes, I was also told, need to be able to remember things well, be good public speakers, and good at generally speaking with people. It was explained to me that one of the reasons why they need to be crafty is because they have to deal with other people who are crafty themselves (for example, the teacher, and the town authorities). This is also why the knowledge of Spanish is an advantage. Although Severino was frequently consulted on issues related to outsiders, his dealings with the latter were looked at with suspicion. On one occasion when the seeds delivered in Horcas, as part of one development project, disappeared suspicion fell upon Severino.

Another outstanding person in Horcas is Aniceto, the community promotor (the person responsible for development projects). His wife has a plot of land opposite the Church, and he and his family spend some of their time in the house built next to

this plot. Most of the time, however, they lived in another house in the higher areas of Horcas next to his and his mother's plot of land. Aniceto's mother and brother wear the traditional dress of "tatitas" Aniceto is the only one in his family who wears the type of clothes worn by people in the lower parts of Horcas. His wife also wears clothes like other women in the lower areas. He told me he stopped wearing the type of dress his brothers wear when he started coming to spend periods of time in his wife's house in the lower level. "People here (in the lower level) sometimes try to take advantage when they see you wearing those clothes". I was told he was chosen by the community as promotor because he is a hard worker. His knowledge of Spanish is very slight. He, too, is very active in the community and takes his role as promotor very seriously. As opposed to Severino, he speaks little and softly but what he says is carefully noted within and outside meetings. Neither had been part of the hacienda system in Horcas. Aniceto and his mother and brothers were boastful of not having been colonos nor arrimantes in the haciendas.

Another prominent person in Horcas was "don Damaso" as most outsiders (except the ex-landowners of Horcas, who simply called him Damaso) call him. Within Horcas most people called him tio or tiuy (a Quechuaified form of tio), which is a form of address used within communities for older people. He is an old man who proudly claimed to be 95 years old and the oldest person in Horcas. He had been a colono in one of the haciendas. He had also been a dirigente during the initial years following the Land Reform. He lived with his wife, daughter (in her late forties), two young grandchildren, and on some occasions two older grandchildren who returned briefly from

their temporary labour employment in other Departments. Don Damaso is known for his wit and his ability to make people laugh by "playing with words and ideas". He never missed a community meeting and his comments could either give strong backing to what was being said, or dismissal through ridicule. He walked around with a straight back and a calm dignified manner as though fully aware of the respect of others. This appearance differed when he was in the town of Sopachuy. There, he once told me, he was not in his "llajta". This is literally translated as town or place where one comes from, but the meaning and use can vary. It is sometimes used to refer to the country as a whole, or to the Department where one comes from, or within the Department to the area or community. The term llaitamasi is frequently used when talking of 'one's people', i.e. those of the same region, area, community, and level within a community. The only radio station which broadcasts in Quechua, run by one of the development institutions, frequently used the latter term to refer to their listeners. Don Damaso's use of the term llajta referred, in this example, to the idea of belonging to and being known in a place.

Don Octavio a Llokencha (one who deals with bewitchments) in Horcas is regarded as a mysterious man who lives alone (which is very rare - he was the only person known to live alone in that area, apart from myself). People came to seek Don Octavio's advice and knowledge from far away places. He also travels frequently to neighbouring communities in the course of his activities connected with "curing", "bewitching" and "advising". He never attended any of the meetings in Horcas during my stay. However, his influence in Horcas is marked and feared. He often sits outside his front door

and from the height of the position of his house, he keeps a careful watch on who is passing by and going where.

Diseca is an old woman who lives with a grandson in the lower part of Horcas very close to the river. She too is feared on account of her having been "bewitched" some years ago. She hardly has any land and has lost most of her animals. These misfortunes and the loss of her husband are attributed to her bewitchment. She is said to have been bewitched by another woman with whom she had a dispute over ownership of a field. The conflict lasted several years. During this time both women, I was told, visited different llokenchas in an endeavour to win the dispute. Diseca's losses of land and animals and finally of her husband, in mysterious circumstances, suggest, people say, that her llokencha was not as 'knowledgeable' as that of the other woman. Because she has been bewitched so effectively, bad luck is associated with her and she is therefore feared. What she says and does with others is carefully considered and not taken lightly, on account of this fear. Her husband is said to have been a strong man who went on a long journey to see a reputed jampiri (one who cures) in a neighbouring community. He took his grandson who had suddenly fallen ill to be cured by the jampiri. The jampiri attended to the boy for three days and on the fourth told the grandfather the child would be safe, but that he would not. He said he had managed to remove the bewitchment from the boy but it had now entered the grandfather. There was nothing further the jampiri felt he could do, and he suggested a visit to an aisiri (one who knows) in another community. On their return to Horcas, the grandfather slipped and fell over a precipice. He was found dead at the bottom.

Those briefly sketched above are influential within, and to some extent outside, Horcas. The source of their influence, and in some cases power, varies and will be discussed in more depth in later chapters. It is worth noting here that the last three gather their influence from locally established criteria for influence and power. The first two, i.e. the dirigente and promotor are put in those positions of influence by people outside Horcas and according to their own criteria. Such criteria are also adopted and relevant within Horcas without decreasing or rejecting the importance of the criteria from which the last people sketched draw their power and influence.

The differences in leadership and sources of power and influence are discussed more fully later. This chapter has provided a general overview of Horcas and the surrounding areas. Within this scenario the chapters which follow are contextualised. Various ideas and themes are discussed more fully in each of them. The next chapter deals more particularly with some cosmological themes as they are identified in speech and actions by people in Horcas. These themes, in a sense, provide a basis for the coherence and meaning of many of the ideas expressed and actions performed. They are not separable from one another nor from any of the material provided in later chapters. They have been identified for the sake of clarity but their interrelation and interwoven nature must be stressed.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Bolivia is divided into nine Departments (see map). According to the last national census (1976) the population of the Department of Chuquisaca was 357,244. The area of the Department is 19,893 square kms.
2. The town of Sopachuy (south east of Sucre) (see map) is linked to Sucre by a main unpaved road covering a distance of approximately 200 kms. The same road continues south to the town of Monteagudo (capital of the Hernando Siles Province) a distance from Sopachuy of 250 kms.
3. The geographical area of the Canton of Sopachuy is 1,500 square kms. The population is estimated at 6,270 with a density of 4.1 per square km. The population of the town of Sopachuy is approximately 1,250.
4. Two mountain ranges go through the Province of Tomina: Mandinga (also called Sombreros) and Incahuasi. The Province is well known for its narrow valleys. It measures 3,947 square kms., and has 31,074 inhabitants.
5. Of the 394,700 hectares, 20,390 are cultivable, 6,600 are recoverable, 124,670 are for grazing, and about 243,040 are forests and uncultivable land. Since the Land Reform (1953), 58.63 per cent of the total land has been distributed among the campesinos of the Province. The average altitude is 2,200 meters. Annual rainfall has been measured at 600 to 700 mm. Variations in climate, hailstorms and frost are frequent hazards especially for agriculture. Source: Programa de Desarrollo Rural Integrado para el Area de la Provincia de Tomina, prepared by the Government Regional Development Corporation - CORDECH Corporacion de Desarrollo Chuquisaca.
6. From: Diccionario Geografico del Departamento de Chuquisaca (1956:206). Translation by Moira Querejazu.
7. Brightly coloured square woven cloths used to carry things on the back, and mostly used by women to carry young babies also on their backs.
8. The Cooperative in Sopachuy and in other towns in the area was started by one of the development institutions.
9. However, at the time of fieldwork this fact made a great deal of sense since inflation was running at nearly 1,000 per cent.
10. This processing is done clandestinely in the area of the Chapare and more recently (following raids in the latter) in the Valle Alto, both in the Department of Cochabamba. Processing is also said to be done in the Yungas (another coca growing area in the Department of La Paz). The Departments of Beni and Santa Cruz are said to have processing plants for further refinement of the base for cocaine.



11. Literally translated as the name of a local plant and river.
12. Tata is translated as father or sir. The term refers to the diminutive.
13. A term still used today by campesinos themselves, and more frequently by landowners, town people and officials. It refers to those people whose ancestors occupied a given area prior to the establishment of the hacienda system.

### Chapter Three

#### CAMPESINO THEMES

The two earlier chapters provide the background. The first sets the scene at a national level in terms of historical interpretations and the implications of these today; the second gives a general overview of the area of fieldwork examining some issues which are dealt with in more depth in later chapters. This chapter continues to present a context, but here this context is metaphysical.

The title of this chapter requires some form of explanation. Campesino is a difficult term to define. As mentioned in Chapter One the term was brought into use after the 1952 Revolution when it replaced the then pejorative term 'Indian'. In the political rhetoric of the time campesinos were going to be "integrated" and become active members of Bolivian society encouraged by the right to vote and the establishment of compulsory rural primary education. More recently, there has been a revival of the use of the term "Indian" by indigenist (from the Spanish indigenista= pro-native) groups, particularly Aymara in the area of La Paz. I have used the term "campesinos" since this is the term used in the area of fieldwork by many campesinos themselves, and by outsiders such as development workers, landowners, and officials in the town of Sopachuy. On the few occasions that the term Indian was used it was done by landowners and their families, and meant in a pejorative sense. The definition of campesino continues to be problematic

for many writers, and depends greatly on the criteria on which these definitions are based; i.e. whether these are economic, occupational, ethnic, cultural and so on. My concern is not to provide a definition but rather, as with other terms, to deal with the term as it is used by the various groups in the area. My interest is to discern how terms such as "campesinos" are used, and to examine the assumptions behind such use of terms. Often the term "campesinos" as interpreted by landowners and transportistas is used to indicate "the other", i.e. distinct from themselves. Frequently, this distinctness is strongly stressed with the implication that they (town people) have a higher socio-economic status, and a higher degree of "civilization". "Campesinos" are said to be those who live in communities (i.e. in the rural areas) and earning a living working on their fields). Campesinos' involvement in other activities, such as temporary labour, craftsmanship and so on is often neglected in these definitions in the town.

The term "themes" can also be problematic. My use of it refers to a pattern of ideas and beliefs interwoven with one another forming a coherent basis for general assumptions about the world, nature, life and so on. The separateness and exclusivity of these is not implied. As mentioned above, who is or is not a campesino is not a clearcut distinction, and depends greatly on who attempts to make such distinctions. Furthermore, the time and place also become relevant. These themes can be and are relevant, at least in part, to people in the town and other areas. Moreover, what I call campesino themes acquire further meaning as a result of campesinos' interactions and relations with outsiders. What I mean by 'campesino themes' is that to a larger extent these themes form a stronger

basis for the beliefs and assumptions held in these communities. Similarly, other themes, for example, those more prominent in the towns and cities, may also form part of beliefs and assumptions in these communities. The 'themes' as I refer to them resemble those prominent threads in an intricate weaving. They have been identified as such by the frequency with which they are raised in daily conversation and by the related actions which take place during marked events' and in daily life. Their presentation here, moreover, is not exhaustive. In this chapter the metaphysical and existential aspects of these themes are stressed, their breadth and scope are such however, that they also emerge in other chapters when dealing with more 'pragmatic' aspects of daily activities, such as sowing, harvesting and so on. They are all intricately interwoven with one another.

The knowledge of these themes is shared by men, women and children of these communities, albeit to different degrees. Older people and aisiris (those who know) are considered to have a deeper knowledge and understanding of them. This is strengthened by the belief that older people - especially aisiris - can 'remember' more and hold more 'experience'. These attributes are valued and considered essential in such people and form part of the assumptions based on these themes.

In the legitimisation and expression of these campesino themes the position of aisiris is of significance. Aisiris are acknowledged as possessing qualities associated with knowledge and implicitly, with leadership. Their 'sensitivity', 'experience', ability to 'remember' and 'recognise' are essential to deal with the spirits and the living, and the relation between both. Individuals'

actions in relation to other members of the community, or his/her own household members, are often dependant on aisiris' interpretations. Older men and to some extent older women are also acknowledged as sharing some of these qualities, albeit not to the same extent.

However, the position of aisiris and older men is often challenged by other members of the communities, sometimes younger men. Although the latter share and participate in the beliefs and actions which constitute campesino themes, they often resort to themes and actions presented by outsiders to strengthen their position within the communities and, to some extent, to make sense of new and different experiences. My identification of "outsiders" is linked to the way in which the various groups refer to themselves. Landowners, as I explained, frequently stress the distinctiveness between themselves and campesinos. The stress is particularly made when talking to other town and city people. Variations within the town are also present; landowners, transportistas, shopkeepers, teachers and artisans may live in the town and may be strongly linked to the rural areas in economic terms, but when talking of their identity, life style and beliefs are eager to stress their ethnic and cultural differences with campesinos. Other groups in the town such as owners of chicherias, ancillary staff at the hospital, convent and parish house who maintain strong kin relations with people in communities do not make such strong distinctions but are reluctant to go back to their communities for more than short visiting periods. The distinction is also made by landowners when talking with campesinos in their position as landowners and agricultural labourers respectively.

When meeting compadres, however, talk relating to campesinos and landowners, is frequently in terms of "us". Town and city officials frequently talk of campesinos and their relations with them in terms of a different group, living in different conditions and with a different life style. Development workers operate with the assumption of "the other". It is "the other", i.e. the campesinos, a different group to themselves who need to "change" and to "wake up". During the presentations of projects and while visiting communities, the term "us" is also frequently used, however, when preparing courses, and analysing the "reality of the campesinos", the distinction between themselves and "the other" is clear. Campesinos sometimes refer to these groups as "q'aras" (Que.) (bare). Olivia Harris (pers.comm.) has suggested that the choice of this term may refer to a bareness in terms of lacking, ignoring, not sharing the same culture. 'Outsiders' themes as often presented by development workers, or landowners, or the priest are often talked about within communities. The idiom in which they are discussed, however, does not maintain clear boundaries from what I call campesinos themes, and those expressed and utilized by 'outsiders'. Some younger men within communities, particularly promotores and catechist leaders have become more adept in operating in both campesinos' and outsiders' themes, through their frequent association with development institutions and the Catholic priest. Although they are not expected by either (campesinos or outsiders) to be experts, their (what I call) amphibious qualities enable them to be more adept than other campesinos and outsiders in dealing with both. Furthermore, their amphibiousness enables them to increase

their position and status in the area. This is discussed in more depth in later chapters.

Any discussion in relation to campesinos' and outsiders' themes does not imply a clear cut division and distinction between both. There are variations in each depending on who (when and where) is interpreting them. Moreover, they are not considered by me as opposites. At times people interpret them as compatible, and at times their distinctiveness is stressed. This again is discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

In this chapter I wish to stress the areas of communication and miscommunication within and between groups on the level of assumptions about life, death, fertility and so on. Although the same terms may be used by both campesinos and outsiders this does not necessarily mean that the assumptions behind these terms are also shared. For example, when death is talked about, the same term may be used, but the assumptions about death and its relation to life do not coincide. Some groups such as promotores, for example, are more adept in dealing with different themes. However, this does not imply an adoption of the assumptions implicit in these themes. Some terms and ideas may be echoed without this representing an adoption of the assumptions implicit in such terms and ideas.

For the sake of clarity, the first part of this chapter is concerned with campesino themes as expressed by aisiris. The themes will then be related to beliefs expressed and actions performed during the celebrations of All Saints Day and some festivities made during Carnival. The second part deals with campesino themes as perceived or not (as the case may be) by others. The position of the younger men associated with development institutions is here

examined in relation to the way they operate within and between themes. Finally, by way of conclusion, these campesino themes are abstracted, compared and contrasted to outsiders' themes.

#### Pachamama in relation to life

Pachamama (mother-earth) encompasses many campesino themes. Here, Pachamama is examined in relation to themes of life, fertility, death and uncertainty.

A single conception of Pachamama is never expressed. Pachamama is discussed and referred to in a variety of aspects and on different kinds of occasions. At times Pachamama is referred to as female, encompassing every aspect and element in the world and beyond: people, animals, crops, stones, mountains, rivers, springs - everything which forms part of life. She is referred to as giving life and nurturing life in everything.

Within Pachamama all things communicate. Events relating to crops and their growth may have a direct link with someone's behaviour; for example, actions misguiding the growth of the foetus in the womb may attract frost or hail which may damage crops. To deal with such cases - either as prevention or repair - aisiris are called upon to intervene. Aisiris, "because of their knowledge and experience," said an old man, understand such things. They know of the communication between things and can prevent unfortunate happenings taking place. Aisiris can recognise what has happened or may happen and are able, through the appropriate ritual, to prevent or redress an undesirable situation. Not only can their knowledge and experience allow them to interpret and take the 'appropriate' action in the communication and relations between campesinos and



their environment, but also in the communication and relations between and among campesinos. Part of this recognition involves an understanding and knowledge of Pachamama.

Pachamama gives life to everything and can also be malevolent and associated with death, hunger and suffering. In fact the community in itself and all that comprises it has life. This is frequently expressed during the offerings made to mark occasions during the agricultural cycle and which are related to the well-being and fertility of cattle, to mountains and special places in the area. These offerings are sometimes referred to as 'feeding'<sup>2</sup> the various spirits. Only the highest in the hierarchy of aisiris can make offerings to Pachamama and have a good chance of being effective.

The belief in the living quality of the community and all its elements appears to encourage certain attitudes towards the various elements. Actions such as sowing, harvesting, pasturing and so on are not only mechanical activities, as each involves live elements which have spirits and personalised attributes. It is not enough simply to prepare the soil and sow the seeds. For these not to be sterile they must be sown with care and with a feeling of warmth, patience, understanding and respect. Equally, mountains, large rocks, and remote places along mountain paths require a reverence which, if absent, could have damaging consequences.

The community where I lived (like other neighbouring communities) was often referred to by the names given to each of the geographical levels in relation to the altitude of each. The interdependence of each of these with one another is also stressed in the belief in the living quality of each. According to Bastien

(1978), conceptions of territory and communities are based on anatomical paradigms of animals and people. Kaatan legends and rituals represent the mountain as the human body. When 'diviners' 'feed' the mountain, they symbolise it as a human body. The interdependence of the levels also refers to the variety of crops grown on the various levels, but also to the social obligations represented in the exchanges between levels and between communities. Lack of compliance with these obligations may affect others on other levels. It is said that sometimes a pena (sorrow) may affect the household of the person who showed neglect. The aisiri when called to the household in question can discover the source of the pena and is sometimes in a position to cure the pena by the appropriate offering to the appropriate spirit. It is also said that pena in the spirits of mountains, fields, and the community is simultaneously present in people in the community. Similarly, the opposite to pena also appears simultaneously for the people and for the other parts of the community.

Pachamama, as expressed by an aisiri:

brings everything together; all we can and cannot see. They are born from her and will return to her. The spirits of the mountains, sacred and powerful, the ancestors, the devils are protected by her. We also and all we have (fields, house, animals) were born from her, fed by her, because of her they have grown, and to her they shall return after death. She is a producer, she is passive and generous. During some days (festive days) she is active and receives offerings of food and drink. During these days we must not touch her. She may get angry, talk, cry, punish and reward. She must only have rest and love. She receives love from our offerings. She protects and gives us compensations, such as good health, good harvests, a house, and healthy animals which can reproduce. We give her life offering her love and respect, obeying her.

Life and death are frequently identified and discussed in relation to Pachamama. They are portrayed as inseparable. They are particularly prominent, as shown later in this chapter, during the celebrations of 'All Saints Day'. This strong link between them forms an integral part of beliefs relating to fertility, growth and well being.

#### Life and Death

This distinction would appear to be meaningless within campesino themes. Life and death seem to be part of the same process, one being essential for the other. The terms are certainly used, but rather than being regarded as in opposition to each other they are seen as complementary: the seed must die so as to enable the plant to grow. In the places where there is decay and putrefaction, life comes forth.<sup>3</sup>

Almas (souls) as expressed by an aisiri:

come from the breath of Pachamama. They give a person the faculty to think, to have sensibility and movement. If the soul should leave the body, death takes over. Animo (Sp.) (also translated as soul) is the fluid which gives consistency to the body. Its presence or absence will not cause death, but its presence is a necessary element for life. Animo manifests itself during sleep or through a susto (fright). In either case the animo may leave the body, rendering the person ill. The soul gives life and produces movement. A body without soul will rot and in turn will give life to other beings. The animo may leave the body during sleep and may roam around in places visited before by the the person concerned. The impressions gathered by the animo are transmitted to the body in the form of dreams. Generally the animo returns to the body at the time of waking up. If this does not occur the person may feel feverish and ill.

Loss of animo by susto can occur while walking along solitary and dangerous places (such as uneven or steep mountain sides). If susto occurs at that moment, the animo will stay in that place. These places are often inhabited by sajras (Que.) (evil spirits) and can cause people harm. Gose (1986), as described below, makes reference to nakag (Que.) (slaughterer/sacrificer) who also waits in remote places in paths and roads to ambush and assault travellers. People can be entered by evil spirits, and this often results in the person becoming ill. When a misfortune occurs, an aisiri should look at the coca leaves to find out which ancestor or spirit is responsible or involved, so as to be able to make the necessary offering and take appropriate action.

Pachamama, apus (Que.) (mountain spirits), supay (Que.) (devil), can all be good and evil. Similarly, ancestors can also have good and evil aspects and at times be benevolent and at times malevolent. This is one reason why it is important to make the appropriate offerings at the right time and behave in a good way. Here again the presence of aisiris is important to interpret who is responsible for a misfortune and why, and decide which action should be followed.

Whether bad behaviour has caused misfortune or whether misfortune has come as a provocation from another (as in a bewitchment) requires the aisiri to treat the situations differently. In either case, however, the link between the behaviour of the community members, the ancestors, spirits and the living environment is stressed. In cases when the sick person or member of his household has, according to the aisiri, neglected any

duties, rituals take a different form from those following bewitchment. A cleansing of the person concerned may take place in the river or by burning the offerings and scattering the ashes to the wind. Furthermore, a misa salud (a mass for health) may be required. The ingredients for each offering are precise and sometimes many weeks are necessary to gather them all. In this process important distinctions are made as to who goes seeking the ingredients,<sup>4</sup> the place where they are found, from whom and in what form (acquired through an exchange, or in exchange for cash).

During these rituals the feeding of the ancestors takes place, followed by the feeding of the spirits of the house, the patio, the harvest and the mountains of the area, all of which are referred to by their names. The person involved is placed over the burning incense. Some of the ingredients are also burned and later scattered to the wind. During the ritual the aisiri has a prominent role in calling the appropriate ancestors and spirits at the appropriate moments. He invokes the ancestors and spirits together with many saints (identified as such in Catholicism). At times the Pachamama and the Virgin Mary are also included and referred to interchangeably. The sign of the cross also forms part of these rituals together with invocations to Jesus Christ. The aisiri at times voices phrases repeating them several times, and sometimes takes on the voice of the ancestor. The misbehaviour is voiced by him followed by prayers for forgiveness with the appropriate offerings. He is never interrupted or questioned during the ritual.

If the aisiri has interpreted bewitchment, the ritual consists in removing the spell or evil spirit. The bewitchment may

render the person ill. The aisiri tries to understand the process of the bewitchment and the methods used by the other aisiri in producing the bewitchment. Through the same means the evil spirit is removed and returned to those who sent it. An offering is prepared using inverted elements.<sup>5</sup> Following this a special diet, rest, use of a protective amulet and care from household members is required.

The most frequent are the cases of manchariska (Que.) in Spanish susto fright. As mentioned earlier these are attributed to the loss of animo, rendering the person ill, but may also be due to possession by an evil spirit. The ritual here needs to remove the evil spirit and call back the animo. For the expulsion or removal the aisiri may 'suck' or transmit it to another creature. For calling back the animo a return to the place where the susto took place is sometimes required. A piece of clothing of the ill person is required to take it back together with care and kind words. This is followed by a period of recuperation. The aisiri in both cases repositions each to its accorded place; the evil spirit is removed and expelled outside the household and the animo brought back into the person suffering. References to the loss of the animo are sometimes also made as the animo being stolen, eaten or sucked. 'Outsiders' are sometimes blamed for stealing and taking the animo. I had heard accounts told of the past of priests being responsible for extracting fat from their victims. The association of fat or grease with the Church is made by Mostajo (1952) in the Church's need for grease for the holy lamps and to polish the faces of the saintly images. Gose refers to the nakag (Que.) ('slaughterer', 'sacrificer') as often being "portrayed as a bearded

white man, wearing a white poncho or tunic, riding a white mule .... In other accounts, he may be a mestizo who wears black leather clothing made from the hide of his flayed human victims, and rides a black mule. Some accounts even pose a team of two, where one is black and the other white... Often a known resident of the area in which he works, the nakag waits in ambush at strategically remote points on paths and roads... The crudest of the slaughterers simply slash their victims' throats with the machete, and drag them off to caves or mineshafts where, hung upside down, they drip the fat of their bodies into receptacles" (1986:296). According to Bastien, fat represents the 'energy principle' consisting of vital force and political power. Gose suggests that the wasting away of the victims confirms that fat is the repository of vital force in the body. He continues to argue that the uses of fat all derive from vitalising power, "but must supply the life forms that are to be vitalised" (1986:305). In Horcas, references to extraction of fat from humans were particularly made in accounts of the past. During my fieldwork, fat was mostly mentioned by referring to animal fat sought for rituals and offerings.

The uncertainties of daily life in terms of health and illness are frequently associated with ideas of good and bad behaviour among the living and the world of spirits. Neglect of duties within the household, in relation to kin and fictive kin, and to exchanges are considered bad behaviour. Spirits "tell" of such behaviour through illness and other misfortune. According to the interpretations made by an aisiri the actions (in the form of offerings and deeds) may be intended for maintaining; these may be done during rituals for initiation for a new house, a new corral, or

sowing a field. It is intended to maintain the area in which new life will reach its full growth. Other actions (as interpreted by the aisiri) may be intended for integration or prevention. The intention here is to remove those evil spirits causing the misfortune. These should return to the remote places they once inhabited. Life and health are cleansed by removing the evil.

These occasions also include those where the evil spirit or spell needs to be removed from the sick person after a bewitchment. The aisiri needs to interpret the position of the sick person in relation to someone who might have bewitched him or her. The misfortune from a bewitchment does not always take the form of sickness in the person concerned. Other members of his household could become ill, or his/her animals, crops, and so on might be afflicted. Distinctions between the dead and the living are also blurred. Communications between them are frequent, and actions and behaviour in one can affect the other. They are said to be in frequent contact with one another. The attributes of a person in life remain in the soul after death. A prominent aisiri's soul lives in a mountain or large rock. If a person has been envious, inhospitable, false or a thief, his soul will roam in remote and dangerous places. A good person's soul will become part of Pachamama. Bad-tempered children's souls continue to be bad tempered. All souls have to be received well, especially during All Saints Day. Evil souls can cause harm and therefore need to be pacified in order to avoid their wrath.

The dead and living can thus share attributes and also needs. Both need to eat and drink. Souls get their nourishment from the smells of food and the emanations from the sprinkling of



drink on the ground. Important nourishment is acquired from the smell of coca leaves, of candle fat and of burned llama fat. These are often presented to the dead in offerings. Omitting to do so represents inhospitable behaviour which can provoke the anger of hungry souls who are likely to become vengeful and bring illness to people and/or misfortune through bad weather and/or disease in crops and animals.

Special care needs to be taken with the soul of a person recently deceased. During the first eight days after death the soul roams around his own house. During this time the soul needs food and drink. Food and drink is thus provided by his mourners for several days after death. "The soul sits and eats his favourite food, he eats enough for a year." He returns every year during All Saints Day. During these first days after death, the widow(er) should leave the house as little as possible so as to be present every time the soul returns and, as during the burial, repeat the words: "tumpananchis cama" (Que.) (till we meet again).

#### Uncertainty<sup>6</sup>

The uncertainties of nature and their effects upon agricultural and other daily activities are a constant preoccupation, arising frequently in conversation. Areas of uncertainty require precautions to be taken in these activities. These precautionary procedures are neither established nor simple and often different solutions are sought simultaneously, each intended towards ensuring a good result.

Talk related to the climate in current and previous years is frequent. Whether rainfall is sufficient or insufficient for the particular crops in the area is a constant worry. The dreaded hail and drought are mentioned as reasons for complete disasters or more localised scarcities in harvests. The availability and suitability of seeds are seen to depend on the harvests of the previous season. In the case of a poor harvest, quantities are neither sufficient nor adequate for exchanges or for seeds. These topics are among the most frequently raised with personnel from development institutions operating in the area. The latter for their part and as part of one of the projects are keen to discuss the quality and suitability of particular seeds and fertilisers. But development personnel often complain of the constant concern of the campesinos with the uncertainties of the climate to the neglect, as the former put it, of the economic and political situation in the area, let alone the country as a whole.

Rarely are other aspects of uncertainty discussed with outsiders. The care and respect which campesinos believe should go with agricultural activities and the strong link between these and the ancestors and Pachamama is not mentioned. The use of a wooden plough as opposed to a metal one is favoured by some people because it is said to be kinder on Pachamama.

Pachamama as encompassing all life is frequently referred to in relation to fertility. The soil and seeds are part of her. The preparation of the soil and the sowing need to be done with care and respect and the latter is always done by women. These attitudes and actions are part of dealing with the uncertainty of the growing of crops.

Patience is a quality which features greatly in the concern with agricultural activities. It is a necessary and valued attitude for the activities to succeed. It is not sufficient to place seeds in the appropriate soil. Long time and care in the preparation of the soil is essential as are the appropriate seeds for the particular soil given the altitude of the field, followed by the care and nurturing of the plants as they grow. A constant care and perseverance is required when attending to the field and crops, and if one wishes to have a good harvest.

For most agricultural activities offerings to the appropriate spirits are required. In the initiation (sowing) the offerings are intended to feed and please Pachamama so as to ensure a good life for the crops. Other offerings, of less importance and scale than this, are made in direct relation to climatic conditions. For example, to ensure more rain or to deter rainfall, or to redirect hail storms and pests which frequently destroy crops.

However, it is not enough simply to make the offerings required to ensure a good harvest. These must be accompanied by the care and respect due to agricultural activities. During these activities, ancestors must be remembered as having once been working in those particular fields doing the same activities.

The theme of uncertainty equally relates to ideas about health. As mentioned earlier these are often linked to beliefs related to spirits and souls with whom there is a constant relation. These in turn are related to relations between household members, between kin and fictitious kin and with other community members, and also with outsiders. Uncertainty equally extends to the spirits and

ancestors, the relationship with whom affects most aspects of daily life.

Aisiris are generally the interpreters and advisors in some aspects of uncertainty. And their methods in dealing with these and the extent of their efficacy in turn enhances their reputation as ones who know, remember, and have experience.

The following descriptions of All Saints Day (a celebration to welcome the souls) and Carnival (a celebration of the bounties from Pachamama) provide a context in which many of the beliefs discussed above find visual and verbal expression.

#### Death as a celebration

On the eve of October 31st the cemeteries in the various communities in the area and in the town of Sopachuy become the gathering places of people in the region. The graves are decorated with paper chains, brightly coloured lanterns and flowers. Children's graves are covered with a white cloth and white and pink roses. Adults' graves are decorated with dark cloths and flowers. Large amounts of chicha (Que.) and mistelas (alcohol with colourants) are also taken to the cemeteries. T'anta guaguas (Que.) and rosquetes (bread made in the shape of small dolls and small animals) are also spread on the graves. Household members decorate the graves of their dead and sit by them offering drink to everyone else in the cemetery. At each grave prayers are recited by those adults, and mostly young boys, who know the words of prayers, mostly said in Spanish. There is a general movement from grave to grave, sharing drink, and talking and praying. After prayers have been

said children are handed t'anta guaguas and rosquetes, and adults are given drinks.

At night the scene at the cemetery is impressive. The lanterns are lit with candles which are placed all around the graves and the general atmosphere produces an air of both mystery and merriment. There is little evidence of tears and sadness. It is a night when the souls return and are greeted by the gathering of most members of the community together with drink and food. The entire night is spent in the cemetery till late the following morning when acompanamientos (accompanying) takes place. Those households who have lost one of their members in the last twelve months are accompanied by other members of the community to the house of the diseased.

At the house where the acompanamiento is taking place the main room is decorated with flowers and paper chains. An area in the room is taken up by a copy of the coffin of the household member who died in the past twelve months. Large quantities of food and drink are provided for everyone present. Prayers are also said by the coffin; again mostly by young boys.

The greater number of celebrations were those commemorating the death of children which had occurred during the last twelve months. In the community of Horcas, eight children had died that year as compared with only one adult. Each of the eight households held celebrations in their homes. These were not held on the same days,<sup>7</sup> but were spread over several days following October 31st. Attendance at these by kin members and fictive kin is considered important and the presence of the dead child's godparents is considered essential.

Preparations for All Saints Day begin several days beforehand. Most members of the community are involved in the preparations; either for their own households or as part of ayni exchanges (mutual help) between kin and non-kin. It is women who are principally involved in the making of the chicha, bread and the food.<sup>2</sup> Men often need to be absent from the community during these exchanges to obtain the required produce such as maize, wheat, llama fat, alcohol and so on. Children continue with the pasturing of animals and gathering of firewood. Women and men need to spend time washing wheat, putting it to dry and taking it to the local mill. During these days visits are also made to other communities to attend surapatas (celebrations for welcoming children's souls) also taking place there or for the celebration of the death of an adult. Similarly, if there are members of a household buried in another community or in the town, they too are visited on part of the night of October 31st. In Horcas, young men who had been absent for several months as temporary labourers in another region of the country returned for a few days. They told me it was the most important event of the year.

These celebrations express the intimate and tight link between people in the communities and their dead as well as their link with other parts of the environment in the community. The souls that come on the night of the 31st must be greeted and welcomed. It is a celebration in which all come together, not just the living and the souls of the dead, but also the spirits of mountains, rivers and fields. The spirits of ancestors are particularly present during this night too. These spirits continue to have the attributes they had when living and particular attention

must be paid to those who have not been good, not only on this night, but continually.

Celebrations related to fertility

During the days around Carnival<sup>9</sup> celebrations are held which are acknowledged to be related to fertility (of crops and animals). Many communities organise Pukaras (Que.) (strength).<sup>10</sup> Music and dancing are part of the celebrations. Young girls are dressed in what are said to be Inca dresses. One of the young girls is called the Nusta (Que.) (virgin), and her task is to organise the dancing of the rest of the group. Adolescent boys also form part of the dancers, however they are dressed as young girls, wearing the everyday dress of the latter. The Nusta playfully organises and encourages the dancers with a whip. Chicha and food are later given to all present. Dancing takes place around the Pukara, a large arch made of tree branches, decorated with crops grown in the area on one side, and cooked produce on the other (different shapes and sizes of bread). Flowers cover the arch on both sides. A large pitcher of chicha and two smaller jugs of kirusilla<sup>11</sup> (Que.) adorned with flowers are placed under the arch. Singing also takes place, mostly by the young boys dressed as girls. They imitate girls' voices while singing songs about flirting between girls and boys.

Later in the afternoon everyone is scattered with flower petals, especially those dancing round the arch. The arch is placed in a large clear area fairly close to the school and church of the community. In a nearby house acts relating to the fertility of animals take place. Small figures of cattle, horses, and sheep made of bread represent the animals in the area. Coca leaves in a pile

represent the food and strength which they require to be healthy and fertile. A jug of chicha represents the water and life needed to be healthy and fertile. Most of the people in the house were older men who chewed the coca leaves and drank the chicha. This is sprinkled on the ground before beginning to drink and before finishing.

Just before dusk the Pukara was taken down. The pasantes<sup>12</sup> who had contributed the produce or bread (all threaded to hang on the arch) remove these from the arch and give them to another person who then becomes a pasante for the following year with the understanding that whatever is given to that person should be provided the following year in double quantities. For each string of peaches, for example, two strings have to be given. For each row of maize cobs, two rows have to be provided the following year.

The aisiri and four older men went off after night had fallen. No-one else was encouraged to join them. They were to make offerings to the Pachamama and the apus. They have to "give her love" and "feed her":

"On days like this we cannot touch her, we can only give her our love and respect."

I was told that the celebrations made during Carnival are as important on All Saints Day. It is a feast to Pachamama and everything that she encompasses and her femininity appears to dominate the celebrations. The young girls and adolescent boys were the centre of the activities. Both groups dance and sing in playful interchanges, but the imitation of female voices and female appearance by the boys allows femininity and fertility to dominate



the event. Drink and food are available in large quantities, and everyone present takes part in the celebrations and in sharing the drink and food. Like All Saints Day, all food and drink must be finished and the celebrations continue until it is. A sufficiency of coca leaves and chicha are also associated with nourishment and the strength required to grow and reach fullness. Not only is growth stressed, but equally multiplication. Whatever is provided in one year must be doubled the following year.

These days of celebration are associated with fertility and all its bounties. With a great deal of drinking and much dancing, all of which go on for many hours and which the young girls and adolescent men partake in to the same degree as their elders, many a couple drift off into the night. Some unmarried women who become pregnant, when asked about the father of the child often answer, 'it is Carnival': not necessarily a particular person but the spirit of fertility and multiplication.

Harris suggests All Saints in the Andes is a spring festival, marking the time for sowing and planting, and the start of the rains. "The initiation of the agricultural cycle is marked by the 'socialization' of the graveyard.....The end of the rains is celebrated at Carnival...singled out from all others, and marking both the First Fruits and the New Year" (1982:56-7). She further writes that Carnival is the "most dramatic proclamation of community... the feast in which women enter most fully into the celebration". The integral relationship of the two feasts is stressed by Harris. "...at All Saints, the deceased are embraced within the agricultural cycle, and the process of bodily decay is virtually ignored in favour of that of natural increase. The

feasting of individual ghosts at that time can be fully understood only in relation and in contrast to the celebration of Carnival, at which the cycle initiated at All Saints is brought to its completion" (1982:59).

The way in which people outside communities regard these feasts and the ideas expressed within them is now considered by making a brief analysis of these outsiders' interpretations.

#### Q'aras and Campesinos

Distinctions between q'aras (Que.) (bare/outsider) and campesinos are not always clear cut. Q'aras is a term often used by people in the communities to refer to all those who are not members of communities. Campesinos (literally translated as rural dweller) is a term mostly used by q'aras to refer to people living in communities in the rural areas. The term campesinos is sometimes used by campesinos themselves, mostly when speaking to q'aras. To refer to themselves campesinos mostly talk of runas (Que.) (people) associated with the name of a place. The term tatitas (Que.) (diminutive of father or sr.) is used to refer to those campesinos who wear a particular type of dress (woven and made at home) and who live in the higher areas of communities, geographically speaking. Tatitas is a pejorative term also used by q'aras.

As stated earlier, the degree to which the above-mentioned themes are shared by campesinos in the communities in this area varies. However, the terms and images described are understood by all men, women and children. Assumptions, beliefs and actions relating to Pachamama and the apus are expressed not only during

marked events, but also in daily life. Certain members of the community, aisiris, are recognised by other members as having a greater knowledge and understanding. One distinction between campesinos and q'aras is that the latter do not share, to the same extent, assumptions and beliefs related to Pachamama, to life and death, and so on. Outsiders often make references to Pachamama and perform sprinklings of their alcoholic drinks on the soil as offerings to Pachamama. Harris suggests that "Bolivian middle classes" in their interpretations of Pachamama downplay the malevolent and evil aspects of Pachamama, as though "Christian culture had imposed its manichean grip to such an extent that it has become almost impossible to contain within the same figure the attributes of nourishing generosity and malicious attack" (1984:9). Similarly, the signs and symbols from a 'Christian' world, from which outsiders in their themes claim more orthodoxy, are also part of campesino themes. The symbols from Christianity have been incorporated by the campesinos and have become personalised and often used synonymously with local symbols, as with the identification of Pachamama and the Wirgin mama (Virgin Mary). Even the devil and most spirits can be conceived as being good as well as evil. Nevertheless, these beliefs, whatever their origin, form a central part of most of the activities in the economic and social life of the households and communities in the area.

The way in which many of the symbols and beliefs associated with Christianity are expressed by campesinos are criticised by many groups of q'aras. The local Catholic priest, based in the town, and those attached to his parish are the loudest in condemning those beliefs and practices of the campesinos which do not adhere to their

interpretation of what Catholicism involves. Not only are 'mistaken' beliefs regarding Catholic symbols criticised, but 'pagan' beliefs and practices are dismissed as sinful and backward. Some young men from the various communities (with a knowledge of Spanish and the reading and writing of Spanish) are trained by the Catholic priest as 'catechist leaders'. They attend several courses in the town in order to equip themselves as leaders in their own communities. There they are expected to gather the community together every Sunday and hold a service. They are expected to be the 'spiritual guides' in their communities as well as the providers of examples of good behaviour. Part of this good behaviour involves discouraging 'pagan' practices and beliefs. The priest frequently makes references to these as being sinful and backward in his sermons and during his visits to the communities.

Some people from the town, although not totally ignorant or disassociated from campesinos' beliefs and practices, are scornful and dismissive of them. Many of them have compadrazgo ties with campesinos in communities and frequently attend fiestas and other festivities related to individual households. Their attendance, however, does not mean they share the assumptions behind the activities and celebrations. On the contrary, they are keen to make clear to other q'aras the distances that exist in every sense between themselves and campesinos.

Personnel from development agencies operating in the area vary to some extent from these townspeople and the people attached to the Catholic parish in their attitudes towards campesino beliefs and practices. In their training at the development institutions they are encouraged to distinguish various aspects in campesinos'

practices; those related to their economy, organisation, education and culture. Their work, as the institution perceives it is concerned with the first three. The fourth, as perceived by most institutions, relates to campesino music, dress, and crafts which should be generally encouraged and preserved.

These 'cultural' activities are encouraged through the organisation of festivals with the participation of musical groups from some of the communities in the area. Exhibitions of locally produced weavings are also held. Radio programmes (run by one of the development institutions) broadcast in Quechua and present mostly autochthonous Bolivian music. These activities and the work involved in these are discussed as worthwhile and consequently necessary to preserve and encourage. 'Culture' thus becomes a term and notion which discriminates what, from the point of view of the development workers, should be positively stressed or dismissed. Beliefs and practices associated with what are sometimes referred to as 'magico-religious' elements are hindrances to 'progress' and 'change', and not considered a part of 'culture'. In a sense 'culture' (that which is seen as worth maintaining and preserving) is transformed into 'folklore', and culture appears as removed from its social context. This is discussed in more depth in the next chapter.

Many of the development projects are designed to deal with either one, two or three of these aspects. These are areas in the life of campesinos, as perceived by the institution, which require 'change'. On the economic side, depending on the institutions, a more efficient exploitation of the land and general resources available is stressed. This is often sought through the utilisation

of certain seeds and fertilisers which come as part of the project, with the intention of a 'greater participation' and 'autonomy' in markets and distribution of produce, and consequently an intended large 'economic gain' and 'autonomy'. On the organisational side, again depending on the institution, certain types of organisation for the community are encouraged together with forms of communal agricultural work. 'Education' is not so much an acquisition of certain skills like, for example, the keeping of records relating to what is produced against costs in terms of expenditure, time and labour and against assets, but an inculcation of the view that campesinos need to 'wake up', a very common and revealing metaphor, in order to cope with 'their reality'. Here again, practices related to campesino beliefs and assumptions are discouraged as being backward, and often said to be the reasons why 'campesinos' are backward.

Participation in fiestas and festivities in the communities by development workers is generally not considered advantageous. Carnival and All Saints Days are times to avoid the countryside "since no work can be done" on those occasions. Fiestas are generally considered as a hindrance to the economic improvement of the campesinos since during these so much time and money "is wasted". Furthermore, amongst development workers there is an ignorance of campesinos' beliefs and practices, especially those related to aisiris and their role within communities in the area. This ignorance often extends to other organisational practices within communities, together with the internal socio-economic conditions in communities.

Promotores and Catechists Themes

Promotores can be described as being eclectic. Their taking ideas from the themes of development institutions and/or from the Catholic church does not prevent them from drawing on campesino themes also. What they actually say to whom and where may be restricted and carefully presented. For example, when talking to development workers or the priest no reference to Pachamama and the apus is made. On the other hand, offerings intended to get rid of a hailstorm or to encourage or discourage rain fall are sometimes made by promotores.

In general, promotores touch on the immediate problems relating to projects rather than on issues which are either more long term or complex. Distinctions between man and nature and the exploitation of nature by man as presented by both development workers and the Church were not raised in the communities by promotores. Similarly the topic of not making use of the 'exploiting' rescatiris (hauliers) and coping with the 'commercialisation' and distribution by campesinos themselves was equally neglected.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, although development institutions and the priest intended promotores and catechists to take a more prominent and active role as catalysts of change their impact tends to be short term.

Promotores' prominence within communities comes from their access to certain resources, such as more cash, seeds, fertilisers, insecticides and the equipment for application. Their ability to travel frequently is considered both an asset and a hindrance. An asset in the sense that travel is considered a source of knowledge and a hindrance since very often other members of their household

complained that they were not present in the community at times when it was necessary, for example, during a busy agricultural period, for a particular task, for example, going to another community to exchange goods, and so on. Their 'knowledge' is not recognised as such within the communities, especially by older members. With the use of specific skills promotores try to assert themselves. The use of insecticides and fertilisers is frequently given by themselves as an example of their knowledge. Reference to the terms and ideas used by development workers is often made by promotores within the communities. The working of the land as a community - "all united" - is presented as the ideal, rather than the working in the fields with only kin members. These comments were often ignored and met with silence, or sometimes acknowledged but countered with the problems of such ideas and practices.

The participation in the projects by promotores and their expressing some of the ideas and practices relating to the project and the development institution did not, however, mean that they acquired a distance from campesinos' themes (as the projects often intended). The bad results from a particular type of potato seed (imported from Chile and distributed in the area for those communities participating in the project) were discussed in terms of Pachamama being displeased with the way the sowing was done, ie, with no offerings. It had been done with development workers who gave a demonstration of the treatment of seeds before sowing. Furthermore, the strangeness of the seeds was also mentioned as displeasing to Pachamama. These ideas were also acknowledged by the promotores. The use of chemical fertilisers was often discussed in hesitant terms. The immersion of such powders into Pachamama



was considered suspect. Although a nearby plot which had been treated with chemical fertilisers had produced good results, rumours of bad results in other areas were seen as cause for concern.

Although promotores utilised much the same language as development workers - such as the reference to a particular fungus as a reason for sickness in crops, or the explanation of low yields in terms of the lack of fertilisers, of speaking of the 'laziness of campesinos' or their neglect to work communally and so on - these were often accompanied by interpretations which are more akin to those made by aisiris. For example, the excessive time a promotor was considered to have spent attending courses was the basis for an offering made by an aisiri to a particular ancestor who had become angry because the promotor had not made the ayni exchanges he was expected to. The low yields were attributed to the promotor, not only to lack of fertilisers, but also to his frequent absence from his household and neglect of obligations with his ayni exchanges.

Those young men working as health promotores and who were equipped with first aid training and materials tended to talk about illness in terms of germs and infections which needed to be treated preferably at the hospital in the local town, together with pills and injections. However, these solutions did not always relate to every illness. Jampiris, those who cure and make diagnoses, were not ignored nor challenged by these promotores. Cases of susto, for example, are not considered as cases to be referred to the hospital. Childbirth is also not considered a reason to go to the hospital, as hospital staff frequently stressed. What was interesting was that the reluctance to visit the hospital extended to some health promotores (when it came to members of their own household).

The health promotores are not considered as jampiris. Their diagnoses did not have the impact desired by the hospital staff. In fact, those cases that were referred to hospital were done so at the suggestion of the jampiri. The health promotores are treated as useful dispensers of pills (aspirins) and salt powders for children in cases of diarrhoea. The charge for the aspirins and the sporadic recording of who and how many used the powders was often given as a reason for not using them.

The pressure on catechist leaders exerted by the local priest was greater than the pressure on promotores from development institutions and hospital staff. Not only was the presence of the priest more noticeable in the area, due to his economic and religious power (see Chapter Two), but also because of this his sanctions were more feared. Part of the evangelising task of catechist leaders is arranging and leading of the weekly assemblies on Sundays in their respective communities. Prayers and readings from the Gospel should have formed a part of these and be led by the catechist leaders. Furthermore, they should have guided and encouraged their community members to be baptised and to participate in the sacraments.

A 'good' catechist leader would have several weddings and baptisms for the priest to perform during his yearly visits to communities on fiesta days. Those regarded favourably by the priest had his understood protection and support in the town. Access to loans and other facilities were also more forthcoming. On the other hand, those who were 'sinful' and into 'pagan ways' not only met with his public wrath and condemnation but also with indirect difficulties in the town.

The high number of baptisms and weddings in a community, however, does not necessarily reflect the active nature of the catechist leader. It must be said that baptisms are frequent during these visits and weddings few and far between. As discussed in other chapters, compadrazgo ties are important in the economic and political links in the area. Furthermore, the 'protection' and 'support' expected from godparents are considered necessary for every child. Apart from reciprocal obligations between godparents and child, a strong reciprocal relation emerges between compadres (Sp.) (the godparents and the parents of the child) which continues for years. Discussions in the community, which included the catechist leader, and which related to the need for baptism, hinged to a large extent on ideas about compadres. Often baptism is considered as an offering to spirits to ensure the good and full growth of the child.

Couples who refer to one another as companeros (companions or partners) often spend many years living together and having children without any marriage ceremony, neither legal nor religious (see Chapter One). Those couples who do go ahead with a marriage ceremony need to have the resources to provide an adequate celebration, for without such a celebration the marriage is not complete nor is it possible. These resources need to be sufficient enough to enable the couple to provide sufficient quantities of chicha, mistelas and food, together with the necessary decorations.

Mass is frequently considered as an offering to a particular saint and/or to an ancestor or other spirits. I was asked by several young women to be their godmother for misa salud (health mass). I was required to arrange this with the priest, and to

provide a candle and a small gift. These masses, as explained to me, were for protection and offerings to various saints. Prayers and singing (as taught by the catechist leader) are also considered as part of the link with spirits and ancestors. During the celebrations made on All Saints Day prayers form an important part; all prayers are said in Spanish.

The role of the catechist leader is most visible at the weekly assemblies (in those communities where these are held) and during the yearly visit of the priest to the community on the day of the fiesta. Since the priest does not speak Quechua, the catechist leader translates the sermon during mass and everything else that the priest says. After the departure of the priest, the catechist leader is no longer prominent.

Promotores and catechist leaders (often the same person) can be described as intermediaries in a wide sense. This is not only because development workers, hospital staff, the priest, and to a large extent townspeople prefer to deal with them in relation to their intentions with communities, but also because it is through them that these external groups anticipate a more direct and effective way of reaching their intended goals. These may range from spreading the word of God according to Catholic teachings, as interpreted by the priest, to the achievement of 'change' in the communities in the direction and form as intended by professional staff in the various (public and private) institutions and to maintain an available labour force within communities in order to provide low-cost agricultural produce which can be resold in towns and cities.

Promotores, on the other hand, given their youth, are in a position where they still lack understanding and knowledge related to campesino themes. This in turn constitutes a handicap in raising their status and influence in communities. However, their primary education and youth are considered advantages among the q'aras, which is a good enough basis for imparting the 'knowledge' of the latter in order to render them leaders and multipliers of their themes. Neither campesinos nor q'aras consider these young men to be fully competent. Q'aras do not consider them experts in their sense. Further training and knowledge as acquired in the city (in schools, universities and development institutions) would be considered as essential. However, the promotores know more about q'aras and their themes than most campesinos, and know more about campesinos than most q'aras. This provides them with what can be described as amphibious attributes which allow them to operate with more themes than q'aras and campesinos and they handle both adeptly. Furthermore, they are in a position where they can continue to learn more from both. This potential and skill can increase their position and status in the area.

The Promotor zonal in the area where I worked may be presented as an example. As a Promotor zonal he was able to travel a great deal from community to community and also to different towns and to the city. This gave him a certain prestige derived from being associated with one of the attributes related to possessing knowledge. He not only worked as a promotor for two development institutions, but also as a catechist leader. His relations with the priest were very good. He was quite well known in the town and the area. On one occasion he entered into a dispute with a

landlord who owns lands in his community. The promotor took the matter to the police whereupon he soon realised he might lose the case since the landlord had more influence over the police and legal authorities in the town. The priest was the next port of call for the promotor, with no apparent benefit for the latter.

The matter was finally taken by the promotor to a prominent aisiri in a neighbouring community. After hearing of the dispute, he gave his opinion and advice and a few days later the appropriate action was taken. The promotor attempted initially to operate outside his own community and outside the context of campesino themes. In the end after several weeks of dealing with the matter in such ways, he resolved to deal with the problem through the aisiri and felt he found satisfaction in this way.

The same promotor accompanied me on several visits to neighbouring communities to visit aisiris and jampiris. He told me he was keen to work with an aisiri in order to acquire his knowledge. Still interested in these matters, a few months later the promotor approached development workers from one of the institutions in which he worked in order to obtain funds for a project he envisaged could be related to traditional knowledge and use of herbs. The idea was to gather information from jampiris about the properties and characteristics of each plant and build up a classification of these together with records of the places and times in which these grew.

During our long walks to these communities we had the opportunity to discuss between ourselves, amongst other things, the topics and issues as they had emerged with the aisiris. His knowledge and curiosity of these, together with my interest in them,

may have given him an added incentive to his initiative to suggest a project. When he approached an aisiri with this plan, the response was favourable. The response from the development workers was similar, although my departure soon after prevented me from knowing what happened next.

With these examples, the point I wish to make is that promotores are, given their situation as presented above and with some degree of variation, in a better position than others to draw from many themes with which they come into contact. This can enable them to produce change, albeit not in the direction or form intended by others, but in relation to their position in the area (not only in the communities), in relation to ideas and beliefs utilised in the area, and in relation to the projects which through the promotores' interpretation can acquire a different form and produce different results to those originally intended.

#### Comparison and contrast of themes

When comparing campesino and q'aras themes one of the most striking elements is the complementary nature, and at times blurred distinction between what are often considered, among q'aras, opposites. Within campesino themes there is a complementarity, unity and interdependence between such themes as life and death; the dead and the living; and to some extent good and evil. Q'aras mostly consider those as opposites and in contradiction to one another. Beliefs in the strong link between the need to feed and be good to the dead with the well-being of the living are in contrast to the marked separation between the living and the dead in

Catholic teachings and in the beliefs of most development personnel. The dead giving life to or taking life away from the living in a symbiotic relationship is meaningless outside the campesinos' context. Similarly, good and evil as part of the same process are both found, depending on the occasion, in Pachamama, in other spirits including the supay (Que.) (devil) which stands in contrast and contradiction to the marked distinctions between good and evil made in Catholic teachings and amongst most q'aras.

The distinction between man and nature so often made among development workers and by the priest and townspeople in terms of what can and should be extracted from nature for the use and advantage of man is in opposition to the notion of both as symbiotic. A symbiosis in which Pachamama gives life to everything. In fact the community in itself and all that comprises it has life. Nature is 'moralised' whereby adverse behaviour towards her may have serious consequences. Offerings are made in order to satisfy her and encourage an undisturbed growth of crops. Agricultural activities are done with the care and respect directed to the spirits and personalised attributes of its elements. Mountains, large rocks and remote places require a reverence to avoid damaging consequences. The various areas, in terms of altitude, in the community and their interdependence is stressed in the belief in the living quality of each.

Nature is thus humanised and moralised and conceived as agency rather than an inanimate entity from which man can, through increased technology, extract produce for his own advantage and needs.



The notion of patience can also be contrasted. Patience perceived as involving care and perseverance is required to reach a good harvest. The positive value of waiting is stressed here, not only in relation to crops, but it is also reflected in the higher status and prestige vested on older members in the communities. Patience among development workers is often conceived as negative, reflecting an unquestioning endurance and resignation. Impatience and the acceleration of results in terms of production of higher yields in the short term are favoured.

Uncertainty as it applies to the various aspects of daily life certainly plays a dominant role in campesinos' lives. Ideas and beliefs relating to it are frequently expressed. Uncertainty requires certain precautions to be taken in relation to agricultural activities and spirits for the well being of humans and animals. Often simultaneously, various precautions are taken and/or solutions are sought, each intended towards ensuring good results. Offerings to an ancestor and to a particular saint in the form of a Mass are equally valid. The use of chemical fertilisers together with offerings to avoid or encourage rainfall do not contradict one another. In contrast development workers express ideas and favour actions intended towards certainty. Although the development workers too are dealing with uncertainty, the language used dismisses uncertainty as negative and stresses confidence. Their presence in the area and the projects are presented in those terms. They often complain of the deep concern of campesinos with uncertainties to the neglect, as they put it, of the economic and political situation in the area and the country as a whole. Certainty in the lives of campesinos as perceived by development

workers may be increased with more control over the economic and political aspects in the region. These topics are frequently raised with promotores which are accompanied, implicitly and explicitly, by dismissals of campesinos' concerns with uncertainty. Promotores often echo the desirability of a deeper understanding of the economic and political aspects of the region and country, and rarely discuss the objects of uncertainty as expressed in the communities and which relate to the care and respect that should accompany agricultural activities and the strong link between these and the ancestors and Pachamama. The concerns with and beliefs about uncertainty as expressed in the communities are thus displaced as almost irrelevant and the notions of development workers presented as valid.

The high regard for the past and for the knowledge and experience of aisiris is important for understanding ideas and actions related to the future. Looking forwards in a sense involves looking back. These ideas and beliefs, however, are often considered as one reason for the 'backwardness' of campesinos. Outsiders tend to favour dealing with and training young men who will act as leaders and catalysts of change. Their views and actions are oriented to the future and the ignoring of the past. The past is considered in terms of what should be avoided and forgotten in order to 'advance'. Old knowledge and old men are thus implicitly regarded, by development workers, as part of the past.

The strong link between the past and the future also extends to the treatment of the dead. Not only are benevolent ancestors treated well but so are those who have been bad - however, all must

be received well and given the appropriate hospitality. In fact, this extends to the living in the sense that everyone is greeted and received well, even though they may be considered bad people. Outsiders, however, draw strong distinctions between good and bad people.

The need for 'symbolic' action to restore order is contrasted to the absence of such actions among development workers. One could perhaps consider as 'symbolic' actions the parties which are held at the end of courses that the promotores attend. However, the value and meaning accorded to these is negligible compared with the importance accorded to the symbolic actions as performed by campesinos.

Festivals such as those performed during the days of Carnival are times when Pachamama is active and receives offerings of food and drink. These are the days when she must not be touched and must have love (in the form of offerings) and rest. These festivals are thus considered essential for production and for general well being. The theme of growth and multiplication is also strongly associated with them and large amounts of food and drink and the presence of coca leaves are associated with growth, multiplication and the bounties of fertility. Frequently these festivals are condemned by the priest and development workers as unnecessary and wasteful in terms of time and resources. Development workers consider such festivals as occasions to avoid visiting the communities since no work can be done at such times.

In campesino themes there is a compatibility between Christian and campesino symbols. For example, Pachamama and Wirgin Mama are sometimes referred to synonymously and references to Jesus

Christ, the saints and the sign of the cross are frequently made, although in an idiom which encompasses their own themes. However, such expression and beliefs are openly condemned by the local priest as being 'pagan' and therefore requiring evangelisation. Drinking during religious occasions such as All Saints Day is considered 'sinful' and a further expression of the 'backwardness' and 'ignorance' of campesinos.

Although promotores and catechists are not considered experts by either campesinos or q'aras they are expected by the latter to act as leaders, catalysts of change and multipliers of their themes. Promotores deal with the more immediate problems relating to projects rather than with more long term and complex issues. As non-experts they are unable to enter into discussions and/or decisions relating to these matters. Furthermore, what they say does not go unquestioned and unchallenged, as might be the case with aisiris and development workers with their respective themes.

Finally, it must be stressed that campesino themes are not as distinct as indicated in the above chapter: they are deeply interwoven with one another and constitute a basis for the beliefs and assumptions of daily life. Q'aras themes are equally interwoven with one another, although perhaps not to the same extent, and are derived from a variety of sources such as Roman Catholicism and a Western tradition containing assumptions such as those of 'rationality' and 'objectification'. In the following chapter these will be dealt with in more detail.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Commemoration of religious days, fiestas and offerings.
2. Llama fat is also used (when available) on these occasions. Fat is often associated with strength and life.
3. "Wira" literally translated as fat, and a metaphor for strength and life.
4. The most frequently used are: coca leaves, an alcoholic drink, llama fat (not often found) or fat from other animals, red wine, incense, powdered metals, wool.
5. The sewing of wool in an inverted form, coca leaves placed upside down, and movements of body and hands from left to right.
6. In this chapter practical agricultural activities relating to uncertainty will not be dealt with (see the chapter on production). More attention is paid here to the ideas and beliefs relating to uncertainty.
7. They are called surapatas and differ from the adult's commemoration in the decorations in the house. No coffin is present, but a small arch made of tree branches and decorated with flowers, flags and t'anta guaguas is placed at the entrance of the house. Dancing to the notes of charangos (small guitar) takes place around the arch.
8. The making of chicha requires constant activity and attention for three to four days.
9. Harvest time. The timing varies from year to year, partly depending on the altitude of the fields.
10. The double meaning of Pukara refers also to virility.
11. Alcoholic drink prepared from Kirusilla (a local wild bush) abundant at that time of the year.
12. Those responsible for certain aspects of fiestas and celebrations. See the chapter on fiestas.
13. These are Area Promotores with more experience and training, as opposed to Promotores Comunales, ie, promotor in his community only.
14. CORACA (Corporacion Agropecuaria Campesina). This is a new programme which never got off the ground and which attempted to manage the distribution and commercialisation of produce from campesinos through a network of markets and transport managed and run by campesinos and on a national scale. This was frequently described and presented at courses for promotores.

## Chapter Four

### DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS' THEMES

The 'process of development' as described by some donor agencies refers to a relationship between three partners: the donor agencies, their 'counterparts' and the 'beneficiaries' or 'recipients'. An important aspect in this relationship is that of communication between the three levels. In this relationship the recipients' 'needs' and 'interests' are frequently presented as constituting the *raison d'être* of many projects. This presentation, however, assumes a high degree of communication between all three parties. Whether communication takes place within and between these levels has implications not only for the design, execution and evaluation of development projects, but also for how each level perceives the work being undertaken, and furthermore, for how each views one another. The principle subject in this chapter therefore is that of 'communication' within and between the three parties, with particular emphasis on the counterparts (development institutions in Bolivia), and to a lesser extent on donor agencies (mostly based in Western Europe). The focus on 'communication' is through the examination of the language, ideas, concepts, and themes of development institutions in order to highlight the assumptions of development workers' at the various levels, and to consider the extent to which these coincide or conflict with one another and with those of campesinos. The

effects of this 'communication' or lack of it on development projects and on the 'beneficiaries' is also investigated.

'Themes', 'communication' 'distortion', 'narrowing' and 'message' are here discussed as constituting elements of the 'discourse of development' as it unfolds within and between the various groups involved in the process of 'development' with particular reference to the area of fieldwork. Discourse as a theoretical framework is explained in the introduction to this thesis. My use of the concept of 'themes' refers to a pattern of ideas and beliefs interwoven with one another which are underlain by general assumptions. The themes discussed in this chapter have been identified on the basis of the frequency with which they are written about, discussed and raised in general within and among institutions. Furthermore, most of them are recognised as important in the elaboration and execution of the work of institutions. These themes are also drawn from the manner in which some of these institutions present their work and themselves to their 'beneficiaries' and to outsiders in general. The concept of 'communication' is used in a wide sense not merely referring to language communication, but more importantly to the extent to which the ideas and assumptions may coincide or conflict with one another. The term 'message' is also used in a wide sense and forms part of what is being attempted to be communicated (in terms of language, ideas and assumptions). 'Distortion' is seen to occur when the intended message is changed in content without omitting to echo some of the terms and ideas. The message concerning 'communal work' for example, is expressed in terms of strengthening community solidarity and cohesion, as a means of achieving higher production levels, and

as a form of revitalizing practices from the past for the benefit of the community as a whole. Campesinos differ in their interpretations of communal work, these are often expressed in terms of a requirement to be shown to be done as a means to be included in a development project. The presentation of sindicatos campesinos in terms of a national network which extends to workers' unions for the demand of more just policy for agricultural production and commercialization is narrowed when it is in turn presented as the community authority which will administer the distribution of seeds in cooperation with the subcentral for the benefit of all campesinos in the area.

With a focus on communication, this chapter pays particular attention to the themes prominent within and between development institutions, to the areas in which narrowing and distortions occur, and to the consequences of these. The first section of this chapter gives an overall description of some development institutions in Bolivia. This is followed by a brief analysis of some of their donors (mostly based in Western Europe), and their perceived relations with one another. The second section deals with the prominent themes as presented locally. The third section concentrates in more depth on some development institutions operating in the Southern Department of Bolivia, part of which is the area of fieldwork.

Material for this chapter has been gathered from literature (for internal and external use) produced by some development institutions in Bolivia, and from recorded interviews with some staff members. To a lesser extent, literature and interviews are also sources of information on donor agencies based in Holland and



in the UK. These sources were advised of the nature of my research. Dutch donor agencies in particular were tapped since many of the private development institutions in Bolivia receive funding from these agencies. It must be made clear that given the time and scope of this research, the analysis does not claim to be exhaustive. More in depth analysis is provided in the third section on the private institutions operating in the area of fieldwork.

#### Private Development Institutions in Bolivia

Given the nature of the research time was not sufficient to undertake an in-depth analysis of the various private development institutions, which in the city of Cochabamba alone amount to more than sixty. The intention of this analysis was to gather a general overview of the trends, interests, ideas and assumptions related to their work in 'development'. A large proportion of previous local studies have paid insufficient attention to this level of analysis.

Private development institutions, often known as 'centres of promotion' have emerged in Bolivia mostly in the last 15 to 20 years. These institutions often consider themselves as important actors in the elaboration, design and implementation of 'alternative' development strategies.<sup>2</sup> The influence of these institutions varies depending on the region and context in which they operate, but their growth in terms of numbers and work, especially in the rural areas is significant. One must also remember that these institutions are and have been influenced, on the way they operate, by the national context. In other words, the nature of the regime in power over the last 20 years has had a deep influence on the way institutions are able to operate, on their

methods and approaches and on the manner in which they perceive their role in development and on the way they are perceived.

The following are common characteristics among some institutions:

- private entities, not seeking financial gain;
- their employees do receive a salary;
- their activities are oriented towards 'development' and for the benefit of people other than their own staff members, for example, the 'poor', 'marginal' groups, 'campesinos', 'women', the 'unemployed', the associate producers of particular products, and so on.

Perspectives of 'development' vary with the position of staff within an institution. These in turn are linked to the cultural conceptions of what is implied in notions of development and to their role in the execution of a particular project.

Many of their actions are devoted to dealing with different aspects of 'underdevelopment' (health and education services, housing), to give support to economic and/or productive activities such as agriculture, crafts and appropriate technology; to educational activities, working towards an awareness (acquiring a 'conscience') of problems and the possibilities for solving these ("conscientization"); towards supporting 'popular' organizations, and supporting alternative intentions and strategies of 'development'. In the distinction between development and

underdevelopment there is an implicit evaluation of one in relation to the other. Most frequently, it is the rural which requires development rather than the urban. This evaluative distinction extends of course to those countries which require development in relation to others.

Most of these institutions operate through development projects and/or programmes. Projects are described as several planned activities oriented towards satisfying the needs of 'target groups'. It is important to bear in mind that the way in which these target groups are perceived in turn affects the identification of 'needs'. Whether campesinos' culture is viewed in positive terms and an important basis of their life; or whether they are perceived as a class which requires integration to a national political and economic mainstream; whether as a class which should seek economic self-sufficiency; or whether as a group which requires aid, assistance, help in order to cope better with present socio-economic conditions and so on, will have a strong influence on the content of projects. A programme includes several projects. In both cases, it implies the allocation of financial sources and actions towards such ends.

Relations between institutions tend to vary according to the general national political and economic climate. Repressive regimes appear indirectly to have the effect of improving communications and relations in general between them. Tension between institutions is attributed to variations in approaches and methods of work, to ideological differences, and sometimes to competition over financial resources. These conditions hinder communication between them.

Conditions of miscommunication can be also present within institutions. Staff members in different positions in the internal hierarchy or set up, and with different view points, ideas and assumptions regarding the 'beneficiaries', priorities and functioning of the institution often clash. Forms of analysing and understanding the situation of 'beneficiaries' can vary between different staff members. Professional staff (especially social scientists), tend to base their analysis and understanding of the 'beneficiaries' on particular theoretical frameworks. They frequently justify their ideas and views by a claim to objectivity and truth. Similarly their motivation and commitment to the work and aims of institutions does not always coincide with that of other staff members. These differences particularly tend to form crevasses between them.

A further level of miscommunication and tension is sometimes admitted to in relation to staff members within an institution and their 'target groups'. 'Development' as perceived by a social scientist within an institution may assume its universal meaning and application. However, modernization, growth, and greater participation in a market economy may be seen to be in conflict with access to several small fields, healthy cattle and good crops as a positive view of change.

One institution referred to three types of responses from campesino communities in the area where they operated, when the projects were in their initial stages.

- those communities which have a frequent contact with development institutions and for various reasons have

had negative experiences with these, respond in a negative way

- certain groups within communities express an interest for their own financial gain

- communities that are aware that the project will work only while the financial backing is forthcoming.

Institutions often refer to their projects and work in general as being related not only to the local and regional problems of development but also extending to national and international aspects. In other words, when speaking of development they not only refer to those groups with whom they are working, but include other sectors of society. In this respect too, there are conflicts and tensions with those groups and sectors of society who do not agree with their strategies, approaches and actions intended towards certain ends or changes. Two points need to be stressed here. In the first place, development is spoken of and written about as if its meaning were homogeneous. Development is thus unquestionable with the implication that the values within are always positive and to an extent eternal. Yet there are a large variety of groups involved in the 'process of development'. These various groups have different cultural, political and economic perspectives on which they may base their understanding and interpretation of the notion of development. Development is seen both as an end and an ongoing process. Secondly, campesinos are often referred to as also constituting a homogenous 'sector' or 'class'. Regional

distinctions are sometimes made in terms of languages (Quechua and Aymara), but their 'problems' and the 'solutions' to these rarely make distinctions within regions, let alone within communities.

Most institutions when speaking of development assume conditions of underdevelopment among the groups, sectors and in the country as a whole. Clarity in the direction of their intended goals is not always present. For example, certain actions may be taken in a certain direction, but the consequences of these are not always made clear. Goals are set, but the consequences of their being reached are not fully considered. This is particularly the case for a group of institutions sharing one geographically extensive project. Differences between the institutions have emerged after some of the goals set appear to be looming in close proximity. Desired production levels are within reach in some areas where the project operates, however, the consequences of this rise in agricultural production have not been fully considered, nor agreed upon. Some institutions favour a 'stronger' entry into a market economy on the part of many campesino communities, while others favour the advantages of relying more on a subsistence economy.

How underdevelopment is understood also varies. A few institutions express it in terms of an evolutionary process, eventually reaching similar situations to those of so-called developed countries. Others consider underdevelopment in terms of a series of problems and deficiencies. These must be changed, reformed and modified in order to come out of underdevelopment. Underdevelopment is also frequently expressed as a consequence of

development of other societies, stressing the interdependence of international relations.

It must be made clear that these interpretations have been simplified to some extent to avoid being too lengthy. Furthermore, it would be empirically unjustifiable to suggest that these interpretations are unified expressions of institutions. Variation in how 'development' and 'underdevelopment' are interpreted and presented does occur within institutions. Furthermore, the extent to which these concepts are considered and understood has strong variations among the different staff members of some institutions.

As a result, written and verbal accounts of, for example, conceptions of popular participation or development do not always coincide with the projects as they are executed. These are not merely inconsistencies which can emerge from different understandings and knowledge of these concepts among different staff members, but can cause conditions where communication between different staff members cannot take place. Moreover, staff might think they are communicating without a realization of the narrowing or distortion which often takes place. Furthermore, how these conceptions are understood and intended is often linked to the kind of relations possible within the political and economic climate in the country as a whole.

As mentioned earlier, the type of Government in power at a given time does have an influence on the functioning and approaches taken by institutions. With the current Government's approach and expressions in relation to development, their position can be a difficult one. Official strategies on development are presented as the only coherent way in which to tackle the 'economic process'.

Any alternative approach to development will, as the Government presents it, lead to 'chaos', 'inflation', and 'misery'. Strategies for development are presented as including the interests of all, pretending to solve the needs of all the sectors of Bolivian society. Evidence often shows the contrary, for example, the largest contributions, in recent years, from Government funds relating to development in rural areas were directed to the Eastern region of Bolivia.

#### Financial support

A further common element among these institutions relates to their financial position. Finance comes from different entities to themselves. The sources can be from the Government (very seldom), from the private sector and other non-Governmental sources, but mostly co-financing entities (non-Governmental sources) from abroad which in turn acquire their funds from their own public sources and contributions from their own Governments.

It may be useful at this stage to examine certain aspects of some of these financing entities <sup>a</sup> in order to gain an insight into their relationship with their "counterparts". It is significant to note the expansion of funds available to non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the 1970s which not only led to an expansion of project staff (with the 'required' expertise), but also to an expansion of their counterparts in 'developing' countries. NGOs had to build up their networks in the various countries. The increase in expertise within NGOs meant an increase in the independence of project staff, and an increase in projects being financed. Project staff became more autonomous in terms of fundings and organization.



Government staff and members of the NGOs boards lacked the necessary knowledge and expertise to make judgements on projects. It thus became necessary to believe and trust the project staff's capabilities for making judgements and decisions regarding projects. Project staff also had to believe in their own professional skills and expertise to be able to cope with the workload and increasing funds. (P.Quarles von Ufford, 1985).

During the 1970s the need to show 'consistency' and 'rationality' behind the different activities also became necessary. The increase in funds and staff required a mechanism to ensure the continuation of funds while at the same time maintaining credibility. A need arose for new mechanisms through which staff could account for their activities. It became important to show to people outside that NGOs were smoothly functioning and that their budget decisions were derived from a clear set of priorities. Showing the consistent execution of policy was in the interests of all: project staff, directors and Government. This unified functioning ensured continued autonomy with regard to decision making. This general situation led to the emergence of 'evaluators', which in turn led to the emergence of different distinguishable positions of staff. Each position consisted of different and distinguishable networks. Each also developed its own perspective on what was considered 'good development policy' and how it should be shaped. Project staff at the regional desks became much more autonomous while evaluators emerged within NGOs and in Government. Both had their own networks overseas. Project staff had contacts in which the 'grassroots' or local level was stressed. On the other hand, evaluators establish contacts around various

evaluation studies, often including other members of local institutions in a particular country. Thus intermediate levels are given priority rather than grassroots. Evaluators can stay in the field for longer periods than the regional staff. They had two or three field studies each year and thus had the opportunity not only to study the relevant files and programmes, but also to get much closer to the activities of their counterparts. Regional staff could only stay a few days with their counterparts, and their own programmes included a much larger number of projects to be visited. A further difference consists in their approaches to projects. Project staff are mostly concerned with feasibility of funding. The emphasis is more on pre-project considerations, while evaluators look at the problems related to implementation and administration. Project staff focus more attention to the ideological aspect, for which ideological certainty is required. Certainty is not only related to a smooth execution of activities, but also to the consequences. Therefore, project staff are primarily engaged in pre-project phases, making choices as to what should be done, their focus is primarily on the local level in the countries which receive their funding and on writing reports to their directors, making it all acceptable to their Government. On the other hand, evaluators are assigned to be concerned with identifying problems that arise or are perceived in development cooperation. Their concern is also to improve their decision-making capacity over projects.

It is the responsibility of the directors of NGOs to ensure the smooth functioning of the organization and make certain that feedback takes place. However, directors lack the expertise on the matters which arise in the variety of regions and sectors. At the

same time they need to convey the image of smooth running organizations to maintain support from their boards and Government. Nevertheless, while representing their organizations they increasingly lack the means to influence and steer them. (From interviews with different staff members at two Dutch NGOs).

The smooth functioning of these organizations is stressed in their presentation of their self-image. Certain aspects are stressed, namely their 'independence' in terms of ideology or politics, and their contribution towards solving problems related to lack of 'development'. Their financial dependence on Governments and the general public is not presented as part of their self-image. Often they present themselves as "honest brokers" between a "variety of partners", or as "contributors to Missio Dei - the furtherance of 'justice', 'freedom', and 'respect for human rights in the whole world'. They are the 'implementers' and 'consolidators' of the socio-political, cultural rights of man as established by the United Nations, encouraging the active participation of groups and individuals in the socio-political, cultural and economic development of their society, so they may be enabled to contribute towards the construction of an authentic social order, in the political, socio-economic and social sense. They are "trainers" of groups and individuals most affected by 'poverty' in order that they may reach a level which may in the short and long term enable them to meet their needs. They are "social catalysts" helping and encouraging people to realize their 'full potential', helping small groups to become self-reliant and to combat oppressive factors <sup>4</sup>. One NGO was particularly concerned about and aware of the power and importance of money, in relation to their counterparts. At the

same time they were conscious of the advantages of the distance which their position and geographical location gave them, while also admitting to this fact as a cause of lack of detailed knowledge.

#### Relationship with "counterparts"

The relationship between NGOs and their counterparts, as perceived from the point of view of one Dutch NGO is one of 'resemblance' between each other, and "as a not very easy dialogue" through which acknowledgements are made of a "similar inspiration and a continuous checking of the existence of a similar vision". The counterparts are mostly organizations with a structure rather than incidental groups. Counterparts, it is felt, are in a position where they can use their own vision, policy and criteria in the national, regional and continental context within which they work. Their network of similar organizations enables them to exchange experiences, compare analyses and sharpen their complementary role. In practice this represents also an analysis and a follow-up of projects in all their stages from the elaboration to the implementation, the evaluation and so on. Counterparts are seen as reference points, i.e. from which their input in a particular country may be gauged and with whom frequent exchanges are made to ensure that premises for the beneficiaries are constantly transmitted to donors. Therefore, counterparts are perceived by donors as the translators and transmitters of premiss, needs and interests of beneficiaries. They can hold dialogues with people outside their own contexts. They advise donors not only on issues relating to specific projects, but also to issues related to general

development and other important initiatives. They also elaborate reports on projects and programmes, participate in external evaluation, and sometimes administer "block grants" for mini projects. Counterparts can help in interpreting the vision, policy and criteria of donor organizations. A further and "important point of resemblance" as seen by donors is that counterparts acquire their legitimacy from the acceptance of the "beneficiary", and implicitly from the acceptance of the donor. Thus 'counterparts' can be described as being 'brokers' in terms of ideas, concepts, visions, criteria and policy. On the one hand, they are expected (by donors) in the elaboration of projects to 'transmit' and often 'translate' the needs, interests, premises of beneficiaries. On the other hand, they help, advise, in the interpretation of the donor's vision, policy and criteria in relation to projects and to general issues of development. Their position as 'translators' and 'transmitters' will be dealt with in more depth in the final chapter. But here it must be stressed that the content of the translation and transmission is affected by several variables and will vary with variations of cultural conceptions and of what is implied by notions of 'development', 'participation', 'conscientization' and so on as understood by each development worker.

The "responsibilities" of counterparts, as outlined by another donor, are perceived to be in the first instance to their own support group, i.e. the beneficiaries, and secondly "towards those for whom they work and from whom they receive funds for their programmes and projects and towards (the name of the NGO) who provides money for development". These responsibilities operate on two levels: the premise on which policies and options are based and

the level of operations and implementations. A partnership of three is perceived: the "recipient groups", the counterparts, and the donor. In this partnership, it is the responsibility of the counterpart to ensure that the premises discussed with the donor are, and continue to be, a translation of the premises of the recipients groups.

This same NGO describes beneficiaries in the following way:

"groups and classes who, in the present power relations, do not have any kind of voice but who offer, through their conscientization, the possibility of breaking their dependence".

The responsibility of Dutch NGOs (as expressed in a joint publication) is said to be to the Government and to the Dutch population, and "to ensure the continuation of its aid programme". In this document reference is made to a change in their attitude. Until 1977 it was considered to be more passive and reactive; projects were considered, in those days, "according to criteria valid for Government and were approved or not on that basis". After 1978, more detailed criteria were established for appraising projects. During this time, "closer collaboration " with counterparts was established. From this time NGO policies were based on an inference from a "dialogue" with their counterparts.

This shift in NGO attitudes not only corresponds with the expansion of funds and project staff of the 1970s described above, but also it is useful to remember that the 1970s held new development theories based on the analysis of Latin American experiences. Furthermore, those were years when several South

American countries were under military dictatorships. These events may have had an implicit and/or explicit influence on the change of attitudes of Dutch NGOs during those years. Similarly, these events had repercussions on the counterparts, i.e. the development institutions in Bolivia. In the 1960s and early 1970s many of these institutions began their work in rural areas with a stress on education. In the mid and late 1970s the stress shifted to production since it was felt there was need for a more "concrete response to campesinos' problems". The stress on education was felt to be lacking a solid answer to the immediate needs of campesinos. Prior to continuing with the prominent 'themes' of development institutions, a brief outline of their views of donors will highlight some of the constraints within institutions (as perceived by themselves).

Views of donors. Some institutions speak of their relations with donor agencies in terms of mutual dependence; a financial one on one side, and the need to justify their existence through projects in the Third World, on the other. A further dependence is admitted to by some institutions in the sense that there are deadlines that often need to be met. For this reason, often qualitative aspects in projects are neglected in order to stress quantitative ones. For example, aspects in projects relating to education (the results of which are difficult to measure and quantify) are neglected in order to attend to 'actions', which can be demonstrated in terms of numbers, for example, quantities reached in higher levels of production. Donors are often said to stress quantitative results. This is sometimes expressed in the shortage of time staff members in donor organizations say they have to read

long reports from their counterparts. One donor agency was said to have one staff member to deal with 150 projects in various countries. They therefore often stress the need for short reports with quantifiable data. Many institutions perceive this situation in terms of dependence. They are put in a position whereby they are forced to give preference to areas of work and actions within projects which without this requirement, from donor agencies, they would have as secondary. Requirements in this respect also include the writing of reports for donor agencies. Here, too, professional staff within institutions often spend large portions of their working time on writing such reports, neglecting other activities which might otherwise get priority. Professional staff often complain of the amount of time spent writing such reports for donor agencies which could more advantageously (from the point of view of the aims and requirements of the project) be spent in visits to the rural areas in the general execution of the project.

The relation between donors and their counterparts is not always seen as cohesive. For example, the raising of funds by the donors in their own countries and the way in which these funds are legitimised and explained may be done in terms which do not even resemble at all the way in which these funds are finally spent in a given Third World country. Fund raising may be done in terms of 'assistance', 'help', 'aid', attenuating the consciences of the general public in donor countries. The view of "the other" is here relevant, it is the other which requires help, assistance, development and change. It is the other which must catch up, acquire the required technology with the experience, expertise, money of the donor countries. Those requiring assistance are in the



'third world' - again another world different to the 'first world' which is also expected to change but without looking at the 'third world' for achieving such a change. Some counterparts are conscious of this, but attempt to avoid reflecting such a view in the way they present and execute their projects. What actually happens to that money eventually may not take the shape or approach intended initially when the funds were raised. Counterparts frequently do not have a clear understanding of the way in which funds are raised, and similarly the general public does not know the results eventually obtained with the funds provided.

Differences between donors and their counterparts also extend to deeper issues. I was told that a form of cooperation and coordination can take place despite operating on different assumptions. Attempts at dialogue or discussion based on the questioning and examination of such assumptions become "impossible". An example given to me dealt with the interpretation of 'education' within development. Many Latin American counterparts perceive education in terms of a political analysis, as a process of realization of issues relating to power struggles between different sectors of society within a region or country, and/or continents. Donor agencies, on the other hand, perceive 'education' as a technical problem, in terms of the acquisition of more efficient practical skills. Consequently their methodology is geared towards technical aspects and to the provision of these skills. Technical aspects for the latter are considered essential, and do not coincide with ideas and assumption of 'education' on the terms expressed by their Latin American counterparts. In this example, the impasse in terms of assumptions is clear. What was meant and, more

importantly, assumed by the concept of education by each group did not provide a basis for any form of communication - 'education' as strongly linked to labour and the acquisition of technical skills, seeking further technological provisions also assumes a certain type of society; 'education' as part of a process of socio-economic and political realization in which the members of that society are able and willing to seek their own course of development presented a block in communication.

#### Prominent Themes

In the preceding section I have outlined the different views of donors and their counterparts towards one another. Part of this relationship involves an exchange of ideas and information which sometimes go towards strengthening or weakening some of what I am here calling 'prominent themes'. Clearly a large proportion of the content of these themes stems from a national and regional analysis. However, I suggest that often the content and style are also influenced by ideas and currents prominent in donor countries. This is not to imply that the influence is solely one way. The influence from counterparts' countries to donors is also visible.

Economic lens: Also during the 1970s the Bolivian Government's attention<sup>4</sup>, in terms of Development resources and policy was directed towards the Eastern regions of the country. Hardly any resources were directed to agricultural needs in the Western region, and even less to the agricultural production of campesinos in that region. Many institutions suggest that the problems that have

emerged since the Land Reform (1953), such as minifundizacion (division of plots into ever decreasing sizes), deterioration of prices of agricultural produce, and deterioration in relations of commercialization and distribution have never been tackled seriously by consecutive Governments (see chapter on Production). Therefore, some development institutions have attempted to remedy this perceived neglect in terms of Government resources and policies.

During this period, an important theme takes on a more coherent shape, and continues to this day, among several institutions in Bolivia - a conception of campesinos' needs and problems through a narrow economic lens. Problems and solutions are discussed in relation to an adequate 'food intake', to prices policies for campesinos' productions, to technical assistance to develop agricultural production, and to credit facilities for campesinos.

Many projects and general work within some institutions take place on the basis of certain analyses. These analyses are mostly made from an economic perspective. For example, campesinos are often understood and categorised according to their type of economy. One category refers to "community economy" in which campesino communities maintain many of their traditional economic practices, for example, they are said to continue to utilize land communally, continue with ayni exchanges, and strong "reciprocity links". Another category is identified as "family-domestic economy" in which more emphasis is placed on the family unit for the purposes of production and on compadrazgo ties. Decision making in the former is said to combine individuals and the community as a whole.

Decision making in the latter is said to be based on the family unit alone.

The campesinos' economy is also envisaged by some institutions as revolving around three rubrics: agricultural, (relating to) cattle, and (to) crafts. These institutions attempt to strengthen each or some of these, encouraging higher yields in agricultural production, diversification in agricultural produce, diversification in the types of animals maintained, and support towards production of certain crafts to be commercialised.

Within this economic theme, other elements in projects and ideas concerning work such as organization and education gather their relevance provided that they support and facilitate economic objectives and actions. 'Organization' within communities, for example, sindicatos or cooperatives, are discussed and presented in a way that their function and meaning in the communities will enhance and strengthen agricultural production. The absence of a well organized sindicato or cooperative, and prevalence of agricultural work organized in terms of kin members are considered to be weaknesses and failings in campesino communities. Collectively organized agricultural production is presented as a means towards strengthening social organization within the communities and towards achieving higher yields and greater productivity. This type of collective agricultural work is referred back to Inca times, and seen as a form which the invasion of the Spaniards gradually destroyed, but which should be revived and utilized in present times. An increase in production is presented as possible, highly desirable and achievable through collective

agricultural work which in turn strengthens the sindicato and/or cooperative or communal organization within the communities.

The theme of organization is an important one for most institutions. Furthermore, it is very much linked to the economic analysis and proposed economic solutions. Solutions to economic and political problems within communities, and sometimes expressed about campesinos in the region and/or the country as a whole, are articulated in terms of organization. The voice and participation of campesinos in the socio-economic and political aspects of a given region and/or the country are considered to be louder and more effective provided a strong campesino organization is achieved, within communities, regionally and nationally.

Solutions in terms of economic criteria do not necessarily mean that the consequences stemming from such solutions are fully considered, or long term objectives agreed upon. For example, several institutions admit to a question mark and a lack of a clear perspective on issues relating to an increase in agricultural production and the consequences stemming from this, if achieved. Whether a deeper insertion into a market economy is desirable and beneficial for campesino communities, or whether higher yields should be directed to strengthen and stimulate an auto-subsistence type economy is not clear. There is diversity of views and intentions in this respect, both within and between institutions.

A group of institutions are attempting to formulate an 'alternative' (to the Government's) development proposal for the campesino economy. This alternative proposal will be made, I was told, on the basis of the experiences of the institutions derived from working in the rural areas over the years, and on the

experiences of their 'beneficiaries'. An attempt will be made to "recover" some "cultural practices" of campesinos in the various regions (where these institutions operate), and seek and prepare a "technical package" which can be accessible and of easy use for campesinos. This alternative plan also requires, as presented by institutions, a greater participation and deeper involvement in decision making of the beneficiaries in the various projects. There are differences however, among institutions as to the shape and content of the alternative proposal. Some speak in terms of the ideal of "self-management" by campesino groups or communities. However, no homogeneous interpretation of "self-management" is conveyed by these institutions. All institutions are agreed on the importance of the participation of campesinos, although it is also realised that there is no homogeneity either among their views and ideas. Institutions consider it is up to institutions to "understand" these, and "translate" them into a proposal for Alternative Development. Institutions believe it is necessary to "recover", "rationalise", "rectify" and recreate what campesinos think and say, and translate these into proposed actions for the proposed Development Plan. These proposals and documents that are to emerge containing these, should be, it is further believed, constantly re-thought and re-elaborated.

This view of some institutions' ability to understand, translate, and so forth leads on the next theme which in a sense underlies a great deal of institutions' work and presentation of themselves.

Campesinos lacking 'knowledge': One implication in much of what has been reported above is the analysis and conception of campesinos as lacking important knowledge and understanding, not only of external issues which may affect them, but also of internal ones and self-knowledge. Institutions often see part of their role as providers of this 'knowledge', of this 'understanding' which, according to these institutions, campesinos should have in order to cope better with their 'problems'. Furthermore, institutions see themselves as translators of the relevant theories for campesinos to understand themselves, and their role as one which encourages campesinos to analyse their own problems more "scientifically".

Similarly, some institutions encourage the formation of associations for agricultural production of a particular agricultural product. It is through such organizations that some institutions perceive a way towards creating an awareness and equipping campesinos for coping with problems related to an economy which is largely monopolised by a dominant minority in the country as a whole. The means towards achieving higher yields are offered in the form of 'training'. Collective work, to be 'revived' from the past, is presented as a further means towards achieving: higher yields, more efficient organization, and hence a greater participation in the dominant political and economic system.

Many institutions, as a starting point in their projects, make an analysis of the 'situation', and 'reality' of campesinos. This analysis is presented by professional staff within the institution to other staff members, who in turn make similar analyses during courses for promotores, and campesinos in communities. This analysis does not necessarily correspond to

campesinos in the particular area in which the institution(s) operate, mostly the analysis refers to campesinos in the region (i.e. comprising, at times, several Departments). On the basis of these global analyses, some institutions work on the assumption that a kind of capitalist economy predominates in Bolivia, and that campesinos are increasingly becoming affected by and sucked into it. They are gradually but surely becoming more dependant on a cash economy and increasingly relying on manufactured goods; not only in terms of status goods (such as watches, radios, cassette recorders and clothes), but also in terms of agricultural produce (seeds, fertilizers, paid labour and mechanization). Some institutions thus, perceive their role as providing campesinos with the means for acquiring the capacity to defend themselves better against this type of economy. In this sense campesinos should be made 'conscious' of the "obstacles" of an 'campesino economy' within a capitalist system. They must realize they are arriving at involvement in a "process of proletarianization". Many institutions believe there is a "process of decampesinization". With this kind of equipping in mind, some projects provide a 'rotating fund' to be used by campesinos in order to "develop the capacity to manage capital". A further aspect here is to bring out the realization of the function of 'capital':

"Campesinos make immediate use of any surplus from agricultural production and transform it into the commercial sector. We wish to demonstrate the advantages of reinvesting surplus into agriculture. This is why they must understand what is capital in a campesino economy" (Professional staff member in an institution in Cochabamba).



This same person felt that campesinos who had no capital are in a disastrous position; campesinos with capital and land can function, but campesinos with capital and without land can, to some extent, function. Capital in the latter case can be used to hire land and labour is necessary. Such arrangements do take place in some areas.

Some institutions make distinctions and selections as to individual members of a given community with whom to undertake their projects. The choice of those 'more clear thinking' members of the communities is sometimes made. It is with the more 'advanced' members of communities that they perceive 'better' results for their projects. Other institutions incorporate all members of the communities they are working with, at least for the benefits of certain projects.

Other institutions operate in terms of presenting a model. Some communities are adopted (after some research in the area, according to criteria established by the institutions, and depending on the responses, from campesinos in the area, to their presence) as models for a particular geographical area. A particular project then devotes its attention fully to one community, in terms of courses, actions within the community (these depend on the type of project), resources, and evaluations (often made with people from the community). The intention with such communities (if the experience is considered a success, or if certain good results have been achieved), is to then encourage neighbouring communities to adopt similar practices, and to acquire the 'knowledge' and 'understanding' of their situation as presented after the analysis made by the institution.

Despite the fact that some of the methods mentioned above vary from one another, there is an underlying assumption in the general approach to the work of institutions which perceives the urgent need to create and encourage a questioning sense among campesinos. To question "how their economy functions", which it is further assumed will then lead campesinos to realise the advantages of "producing on a large scale" as opposed to producing on a small scale.

The analysis of the situation of campesinos in general, made by institutions, implicitly and/or explicitly leads to a certain selectivity on the part of some institutions. This selectivity relates to aspects of campesinos' life. This selectivity may aim to maintain, revive, or discard certain beliefs, ideas, practices and ways of life of campesinos. There is the implicit assumption that staff within institutions may be in a better position to make such choices. Some institutions, for example, attempt to revive and develop communal work within communities, not only for agricultural work, but also for the utilization and (in some cases) ownership of land, the purchase of produce and so on. On the other hand, many of the beliefs, activities related to fiestas, and in some cases the fiestas themselves, are considered wasteful in terms of resources, money and time. Many development workers do not visit the rural areas during such times as Carnival and All Saints Day since they consider they cannot do any work during those times, since most people will be "drunk anyway". Furthermore, the knowledge of jampiris is divided into what is considered knowledge worth gathering and having - that which relates to the medicinal properties of herbs; and "superstitious" considered unnecessary, and

by some "backward", a "reason for the backward ways of campesinos", and "harmful" - that which relates to Jampiris' knowledge of rituals and offerings which jampiris do not separate from the knowledge on herbs and their properties. Only a few institutions, mostly those working on health and health related projects, are attempting to incorporate traditional knowledge into their projects.

Closely related to the above is a problem experienced by some institutions whereby the view of campesinos held by some staff members (professional and non-professional) is expressed in terms of pupils who need to be taught and have little, if anything, to teach in turn. The beneficiaries who are distinct from staff in institutions, not only have to be given the 'right knowledge', but also have little to teach.

This view is particularly marked among some agronomists and physicians who assume an absence of knowledge on the part of the beneficiaries of a given project. The arrogance of one agronomist taking part in a course became a problem. He was a new member in an institution and his approach to his subject had not only had bad results with beneficiaries but also with his colleagues within the institution. The dissonance between staff members was reflected in the presentation of a course to promotores who immediately picked up the feeling among development workers. Promotores openly expressed to other development workers their criticisms of the agronomist, and he also became the source of much ridicule and amusement among promotores. The agronomist's use of obscure technical terms in his explanations during the course, together with his lack of interest in them as campesinos were held up by the promotores as reasons for their contempt towards him.

A further difficulty arises with the compartmentalization of specialized disciplines that often takes place. This compartmentalization reflects the distinctions of many professionals employed within institutions and generally accepted as the norm. It is on the basis of this compartmentalization that the analyses are made, courses prepared, 'knowledge' transferred, research done, needs translated, problems identified, solutions proposed, and reports written for internal use and for the donor agencies to digest, react to and accept.

Furthermore, it is significant to note that dominance within institutions of a given profession - either in terms of higher numbers of particular professionals hired or in terms of a more marked personality of certain professionals - often directs the general concern of a given institution. For example, some institutions with a preponderance of economists and sociologists tend to identify problems in the campesinos situation in terms of land and capital. Similarly, hydraulic engineers in one particular institution identify problems among campesinos and the country in general as due to the inadequate use of water. Bad health, nutritional deficiency, low agricultural production are discussed in terms of water.

The demarcation of disciplines within institutions and the accompanying narrowing of focus in attempts to understand the situation of campesinos, often creates confusion, resentment and misunderstanding between different levels of staff within institutions. Courses and discussion are held for all staff members within institutions, which are designed to analyse political and economic conditions relating to campesinos in general, and more

specifically to the beneficiaries. These are often intended to provide the necessary theories and explanations for a better understanding of the political and economic situation of campesinos in relation to other sectors of Bolivian society. Despite these courses and discussions, differences between the different levels of staff members continue. The assumptions as to which levels of staff have deeper knowledge and understanding of theories and explanations have a vertical direction. Understanding and knowledge is assumed to be more concentrated in the higher professional levels of institutions. This knowledge is then translated to fieldstaff and in turn translated again to promotores by field and professional staff. Promotores in turn are expected to be the disseminators of this knowledge among their community members. In the translation from one level of staff to another and from staff to promotores, frequently a narrowing of the message takes place. Arguments utilized by fieldstaff become fragments of the theoretical analysis made by professionals, these fragments are in turn included in the individual's preconceptions of campesinos, the project, and development in general. Promotores in turn (who often have access to presentations by field and professional staff) echo some of these fragments in their own presentations and also include their own preconceptions of themselves and their role within the community and the project.

An important aspect in this translation of 'knowledge' from one level to another is the language, terms and concepts used. Economists and sociologists tend to use terms from their discipline and to favour 'clear' and 'scientific' statements. Their interpretations are presented as the only way to understand the

"reality of campesinos". Language, terms and concepts which do not form part of these categories are placed outside a clear and scientific understanding. Implicitly, this claim to 'scientific' and objective understanding excludes and silences other forms of understanding. The claim to understanding and knowing, based on 'common sense' and frequent contact with campesinos often made by fieldstaff is rendered invalid as being non-objective and non-systematic. Knowledge prevalent in communities based on ideas expressed and practices done by aisirís are dismissed and silenced with more stress on the grounds of their being part of a magico-religious belief system which maintains campesinos are 'backward'. This view, it must be said, is more prevalent among fieldstaff than professional staff. Sensitivity to campesinos' culture is more visible among some professionals than others. I know of four institutions (three private and one public) which have anthropologists on their staff or as consultants). One of these institutions is directed by an anthropologist. Criticisms are made by other institutions of the particular approach this institution has which makes cooperation or sharing of the same geographical area virtually impossible. The approach is felt to be 'unrealistic' given the general socio-economic situation in the area. The approach and methodology used attempts to preserve and maintain life among the communities involved in their projects within the 'traditions of these groups'. If such groups were not in frequent contact with the mainstream of society, the approach would be recognised to be valid, however, most people from other institutions commenting on this felt the approach resulted from the particular discipline of the director. Talking about anthropologists and their

methods and approaches in general, with members of different institutions in another region of the country, I was told that they (anthropologists) are the 'poets' of the social scientists.

The analyses and interpretations offered and the *raison d'être* of many institutions are often presented as constituting a response to campesinos/beneficiaries' needs. This is an extensive theme which takes many shapes according to the work, ideology and methodology of each institution. However, one can generalise in the sense that the theme of 'knowledge' is strongly related to that of 'needs' in the sense that it is assumed that through a deeper understanding of the situation of campesinos, it follows that their needs, wants and desires (also compartmentalized) should also become clearer. The way in which most institutions talk and write about their work is done in terms of this theme. The goals and direction of their work are presented not only as a response to the needs of their 'beneficiaries' and the campesinos in general, but also as including their participation in the planning and implementing of projects. This is stressed more in some institutions' projects, but it is constantly raised as being essential in the presentation of the institutions' projects to their beneficiaries and to outsiders in general. 'Beneficiaries' are such even before they receive any benefits. Interpretations of whether they have benefitted or not do not always coincide between staff within institutions and between campesinos.

Within this theme, 'development' is conceived in terms of orienting all efforts towards meeting the needs of the beneficiaries. These however, are interpreted on the basis of certain assumptions universalising the conception of needs in terms

of goods and services. Frequently how needs are translated from one level to another in the process of development may not coincide with local expressions of needs. On the one hand needs are often universalised, i.e. all campesinos are discussed as a homogeneous group without allowing regional and local differences. On the other hand needs are frequently thought of, discussed, written about in terms of material requirements. Some institutions go beyond this to include needs in terms of a lack of participation (on more equal terms) in the mainstream economic and political systems of the country.

#### Development institutions locally

In this section local private development institutions are examined in more depth. Of particular relevance here is the identification of the themes chosen by these institutions as important for their projects and in their general approach towards campesinos in the area of fieldwork. These themes are examined by first identifying some of the assumptions underlying them, and secondly by considering ideas and terms deployed in methods and approaches of work. A comparison is made between two institutions operating in the same area, and often in the same communities. As we shall see, to a large extent, assumptions are shared by both institutions, but this does not mean that the approaches and methods of work are also shared. Frequently, the assumptions appear to be shared while the 'messages' are distinct, and sometimes contradictory.



The analysis of campesino communities often stems from the assumption that they currently lack internal cohesion and organization. They are seen to maintain some 'traditional values' while at the same time adopting some 'modern values'. campesinos are seen as having become increasingly "individualistic" as a result of the loss of cohesion within their communities. This is seen to be made worse by the deficiencies in the school system which mostly ignore and neglect historical events from the perspective of campesinos. Projects often aim to seek a 'new alternative' which will permit campesinos to operate on more equal terms within a market economy. This new alternative not only consists of activities related to agricultural production which may enable them to produce on higher levels more efficiently, but will also equip them with the necessary values which are more compatible with being able to operate within a competitive market economy.

A need for "change" is a strong element of many projects. This does not only refer to changes in the economic and political aspects within communities and the area, but to a large extent towards 'generating an expressed desire to improve living conditions', towards a need to 'break away from the traditional structures in the countryside'.

Implicit here are certain assumptions about what is required for these changes to be meaningful, and more advantageous than previous changes. For one the conception of man as a being who makes efficient use of his 'natural' resources. Rational man who through the desire to improve his living conditions organizes his resources in such a way as to maximise his results. Nature is there to be used efficiently so as to be able to compete adequately within

the conditions of a market economy, the structure of which is largely determined by a dominant minority who in turn are, to a large extent, dependent on international relations. Also implicit is the conception of maximization, growth as leading towards improvement of material conditions, as a desired aim which should be sought. In order to achieve the desired change, efficiency of agricultural production should lead to increased production which in turn may lead to a greater control within a market economy. This particular issue and the variance of views existent between and within institutions is discussed in more depth later.

In order to be able to cope adequately and efficiently within these structures and conditions some existing campesino values must be dropped while others 'recovered'. Here enters a further assumption as to what are seen as values worth recovering and/or discarding. Often a particular view of 'culture' is expressed in this context. Those elements of culture considered worth recovering and/or maintaining often refer to crafts, music, and dance. In a sense these are what may be called 'folklore' but are here presented as 'culture'. Culture then becomes folklorized, it is detached from its context and rendered empty of its social content. The creation of folklore out of culture empties it of its relationship to practical realities of life. In a country where the majority of the population are campesinos, who are in a sense a marginalized majority, this folklorization of culture, presents a different national ideology.

This in turn brings forth a further assumption: the need for the acquisition of 'knowledge'. A large proportion of projects rest on the presentation, provision, acquisition of the required

knowledge. What kind of knowledge is considered adequate and appropriate is examined in terms of the themes already discussed, i.e. economic criteria and the absence of knowledge. The metaphor of "waking up" is often used by fieldstaff in relation to "beneficiaries". Implicitly what is meant is that (inside) knowledge (although not often referred to as such) within communities is absent or not adequate enough, and knowledge from the outside is required in order to motivate beneficiaries to wake up and seek the 'desired change'. Furthermore, the implication of beneficiaries being asleep, unable to understand their 'reality', dozy, indifferent, lacking alertness is also conveyed. This outside knowledge is mostly acquired through formal education, from schools, technical colleges, universities and so on. Levels of prestige and status are strongly related to these, and their absence implies 'ignorance', and 'backwardness'. Local knowledge, such as that of jampiris for example, is at best, recognised in part. The ritual aspects of their curing abilities and powers are dismissed as "superstitious" and "backward", while their knowledge of medicinal herbs is sometimes recognised as knowledge. Outside knowledge is therefore presented in courses to promotores which relates not only to technical skills in agricultural production, but also general aspects of life within communities and issues related to historical, 'economic' and 'political' aspects of the region and the country as a whole.

What constitutes knowledge and what does not is further discussed in Chapter Seven. Here further assumptions about the nature of knowledge are given. Knowledge as endless, produceable and extendable (usually from the outside to the inside) is assumed.

Knowledge acquired from universities abroad has higher status and prestige than that acquired from local ones. Often the 'expertise' of foreigners is assumed to be greater than local 'expertise'. The secrecy and guardedness of knowledge as granted to those chosen, and imparted in seclusion (as with most aisiris), is not recognised as knowledge by most development workers, let alone recognised in terms of prestige and status.

The assumption of a progression in terms of time strongly associated with the idea of moving onwards historically underlies understanding of events and change. Moving 'forwards' is presented as positive rather than 'not changing' which implicitly is presented as 'backward'. Implicitly too, growth and forward movement are stressed in positive terms while static, unchanging states are conveyed as negative. Lack of growth and movement in the authorised sense is constructed as stasis, lack of change and so on. How certain events are described and interpreted hinges greatly on these assumptions. The adoption of certain practices related to the project or to ideas of change as presented by development workers are often conveyed in terms of a moving onwards and waking up. Continuation of practices in local terms or part adoption of new practices are often spoken of in terms of 'backwardness'. Strongly associated with this assumption is the notion of patience as equivalent to submission, to acceptance and/or to defeat. This again is linked to notions of efficiency in agricultural production. Use of high yielding seeds as opposed to traditional ones together with the use of chemical fertilizers are means for reaching higher levels of production in shorter periods of time.

Ideas and terms in the methods and approaches: The idiom in which a large proportion of these ideas of progressive development is presented to campesinos is that of 'participation'. Beneficiaries and other members of their communities are encouraged to 'participate' in projects, to take part in the meetings and discuss issues with development workers. Similarly, promotores are equally encouraged to take an active role in the execution of the project and to provide evaluations of the courses in which they participate. Institutions are keen to avoid a paternalistic and/or assistential (from the Spanish asistencialista meaning to provide aid/help implying a creation of dependence) role which is negatively portrayed as perpetuating the dependence of campesinos. Projects are intended to provide campesinos with a greater degree of autonomy and strength in relation to their dealings with outsiders.

In the ideology, methods and approaches practised by these institutions there are certain similarities and differences. The five institutions working in the area describe their work as involving 'promoción' translated as 'promotion', 'advancement' in the rural areas. Each institution also operates with promotores or promotoras, i.e. providing these young men and women with the necessary (as perceived by each institution) knowledge and skills to achieve the goals of particular projects, and to disseminate their messages in their own and neighbouring communities. The institutions operate in a large geographical area of the Department. Their approach is extensive as opposed to intensive. Although one of the institutions is adopting an intensive approach for one of its projects. This will mean that this project is only being executed in one community and the periods of contact of development workers

in that community will be more intense and frequent. The forms of 'organization' encouraged as part of their projects vary. One for example, conveys the sindicato as the form of organization and through this and the promotores it attempts to articulate the execution of the projects. Another institution conveys cooperatives as the form of organization. They do not deny the relevance of the sindicato, but stress the importance of cooperatives in the presentation of their projects. They aim to stimulate the formation of cooperatives in all the communities in the area in which they operate, so that through these campesinos can participate and become integrated into other aspects of 'national activities'. They aim to strengthen the organization of cooperatives so that they may constitute the basis of decision making within communities. Cooperatives are promoted so as to encourage campesinos to acquire a 'critical conscience' of their 'socio-economic and political reality, and "through them be in a position to take the necessary actions to transform their situation". Furthermore, the formation of 'leaders' in those communities with cooperatives is also part of the project. The training of these leaders in the administrative skills of cooperatives and in the "conscientization" of other members of the community is a further aim. Through cooperatives it is expected to encourage the greater participation of campesinos in the activities of their own communities, the Canton, and the Province. This institution also stresses the fact that all their activities must emerge from the needs of the campesinos. "The project functions as a form of reflection and emerges from free expression of the group without impositions or conditions and respecting the values of the campesinos themselves". The health

project with its base in the town hospital also operates through health promotores and through sporadic visits from medical hospital staff to the communities for talks on health education; mother/child care, vaccinations, nutrition and hygiene. The 'evangelization' project run by the town priest and through catechist leaders from the communities in the area seeks to 'conscientize' and 'unite' in order to achieve 'liberation' from the various forms of 'oppression' ("ignorance", "divisions and individualism"). A further institution operates through the distribution of foodstuffs to strengthen organizations, such as cooperatives, 'clubes de madres' (groups of women, mostly young mothers) in communities and in the town.

Ideologically there are also differences between these institutions. The strengthening of sindicatos goes beyond the areas of the project but aims towards a more radical change in socio-economic structures nationally. They also speak of 'liberation', however, their message in this respect relates to a liberation from present unjust socio-economic structures which maintain the oppressive conditions in which most campesinos live. When the cooperatives are presented to communities, 'liberation' is presented as achievable through a greater participation of campesinos in the regional and national activities. The cooperative manages its actions and aims in 'business' terms. The training of promotores is also along the lines of a business organization stressing mostly economic aspects of their actions. No reference is made towards changing socio-economic structures. The other three institutions follow the latter in the Conservative position, ideologically speaking. Although the priest speaks of 'liberation' he refers mostly to conditions which he finds in communities and identifies as

negative. His message does not include any proposals in terms of actions and organization which would drastically alter present structures in the area. The institution which distributes foodstuffs is openly criticised by other institutions in the area for maintaining and in fact encouraging conditions of dependence without finding long term solutions to problems as perceived by that institution itself, i.e. inadequate nutritional intake, malnutrition, and high rates of infant mortality.

Although institutions in the area have attempted to foster cooperation by having meetings to discuss common areas of action and a possible distribution of shared activities, it has never got beyond the level of discussion between themselves. There had been, prior to my arrival, a history of 'cooperation' between two institutions which caused "more problems than anything else" due to "their ideological and methodological differences".

While development workers identify impasses and contradictions between themselves in ideological and methodological terms, promotores are frequently drawn into such contradictions of rivalries between institutions in terms of what each institution has to offer materially.

A further and more significant stage of 'distortion' in the work of promotores in the area emerged from their felt inadequacy to explain and elaborate on certain terms and ideas conveyed to them during the courses. Ideas related to an ideology which stresses sindicatos as a national network through which the economic and political emancipation of campesinos is sought and demanded were narrowed, distorted or not touched upon. Similarly with ideas and concepts relating to cooperatives, clubes de madres, and 'unity' in



terms of a Catholic interpretation. These ideas are discussed by promotores and interpreted by other beneficiaries on the basis of the experience of sindicatos, cooperatives, clubes de madres, personal experiences with the priest and development workers from each institution, and not on the basis of how they are presented during the courses for promotores.

#### Translators and Interpreters

Many of the terms and concepts used by development workers assume in their use a homogeneous meaning. This meaning is frequently unchallengeable in the sense that negative connotations are not drawn from it. Terms such as 'liberation', 'development', 'participation', 'self-sufficiency', 'promotion' are frequently used in reports and orally in relation to development projects. However, these terms are used by many people in the various levels of the 'development process' (local, national and international). They may range from taxpayers financing a project, senior politicians, project, evaluation and administration staff in donor organizations, development workers (professional and fieldstaff), civil servants, local politicians, and various groups called 'beneficiaries'. People in each of these levels perceive these terms and concepts according to their own cultural conceptions and of what is implied in such notions depending on their position in the hierarchy of the levels of development. Furthermore, some institutions may refer and include in their projects notions of 'self-sufficiency', 'participation' and 'liberation' seeking a more egalitarian distribution of resources. This presentation as to what is

intended, as often written by professional staff, in the design of projects is frequently in conflict with 'national interests' and 'political interests' that work towards 'integration'. Thus what is expressed and planned in terms of projects is not only influenced by policies, but also by the personal and political interests of power holders.

People in the various levels are also influenced by their own strategies as perceived by themselves within their organization and beyond. Project and evaluation staff in donor organizations as we have seen employ different strategies in the execution of their work and in their relations with counterparts and their own Governments. Similarly, staff within counterpart institutions equally employ different strategies in relations with one another and this in turn has an effect on the projects. Professional staff often claim justifications for their ideas and views by referring to 'objectivity' and 'truth' based on systematic analysis. Fieldstaff on the other hand seek to maintain their position by making their rapport and contact with campesinos indispensable. Their perception of the work of the institution and their role within it is often in terms of maintaining a job which is not easy to find.

The appearance of smooth functioning and clear direction in terms of aims of the organizations (donors and counterparts) is often presented. This is strengthened by repeated reference to terms such as development, liberation, promotion and so on. Communication is assumed to be flowing easily between and within levels. However, the use of these terms and concepts and the echoing of them by promotores and beneficiaries does not imply an adoption of the assumptions and beliefs as intended. As we have

seen variation in interpretations do take place between staff and hence the initial message as intended (in the written plan of a given project) does is neither conveyed nor received in those same terms.

When verbal exchanges take place between different levels (i.e. between donors and counterparts), and between development workers and beneficiaries, these exchanges go beyond the intended messages. What are also transmitted are reinforcements or alterations of conceptions of 'the other'. In other words, these exchanges are not solely concerned with the projects, but go beyond those boundaries. When development workers visit communities, their major role as they say is to talk about the project. However, in discussing the project issues are also talked about and other messages are conveyed. The latter may relate to the style of dress, to the mode of transport used to reach the communities, to the development workers apparent power in terms of resources within the institution, to their apparent knowledge of the area and of people in the area. These messages will have implications in the way in which campesinos regard those people. The project may be incidental, and the person and his relationship with campesinos more influential.

An important element in these exchanges between levels is the position of those who are the 'translators' and 'transmitters' of ideas, needs and premises of the other. How these 'translations' are made hinges in turn on the cultural conceptions and position within the levels of the organizations of he who translates. Here again, not only is his training and understanding relevant to the content of the translation but also to the strategies which that

person sees as necessary for the continuation or not of the project, and so on. As translators they are in a position where they can 'recover', 'rationalise', 'rectify', and 'revive' practices, actions and ideas of 'the other'.

Their position as translators also can allow them to present 'development' as maximization, as growth, which may be in conflict with what campesinos see as positive change within their cultural framework: access to several small fields, access to healthy cattle. The latter views are then a hindrance to 'development' and conceived and interpreted as negative.

The interpretations and assumptions made by the counterparts - that is, the institutions in Bolivia - with respect to the needs and solutions of their beneficiaries do not often coincide with those of the various groups among the beneficiaries. Furthermore, the variations (within institutions) in these interpretations and assumptions often convey a narrower interpretation of the presentation and 'message' of projects. These may be presented and articulated in the context of local conflicting interests in the area, and in the context of other institutions operating with a different ideology and methodology.

The interpretations of the terms and ideas acquired by promotores from development workers are often based on assumptions following their actual experiences of, for example, sindicatos and cooperatives in the area, and not on the basis of the ideal presentations of these during the courses for promotores. Promotores often echo these terms in their presentation of the message(s) narrowing their meaning in relation to the particular context. These messages tend to be related to short term problems,

for example, solving the shortage of seeds after a particularly bad harvest and not necessarily tackling larger issues concerned with the general organization within the community while utilizing those seeds, and the implications of that organization in the strength and unity of the community in its relations with other power groups in the area.

Furthermore, the design and execution of such projects are based on the assumptions mentioned above, and not on the assumptions held by many campesinos based on the themes discussed in the previous chapter. Many institutions in the area, and in other areas of the country, base many of their ideas, methods and activities related to their projects on three main axes: production, organization and education. The next three chapters deal with each of these and examine in more depth some of the issues raised above.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This term is here used in a wide sense, i.e. without making distinctions between the staff hierarchies within development institutions.
2. Alternative to Government efforts in development.
3. Most of those examined are Dutch.
4. In the 1970s (see Chapter Two), many Government development policies and funds were directed to the tropical regions of Bolivia (the western region of Santa Cruz) to the neglect of other Departments in the eastern region (which have through the years had a mining tradition). Funds in this latter region - what little was invested there - and the larger proportion which went to the Department of Santa Cruz were directed towards what is termed 'agro-industry', and not towards campesinos' problems relating to agricultural productions.

## Chapter Five

### PRODUCTION

Many of the aims of development projects and the intended solutions to the problems of rural areas are articulated in terms of the 'production'. Outside development institutions, at Government levels and in general public opinion, perceived problems of the campesinos are often discussed in relation to issues concerned with production, and historical accounts of campesinos frequently emphasise issues of land tenure, labour relations and general distribution of agricultural produce.

The way in which production is conceived, discussed and presented in these various social milieux and discursive contexts is significant as it has a strong influence on perceptions of campesinos by non-campesinos and on what takes place during the implementation of development projects. It would be empirically unjustifiable to suggest a single coherent view or perception of production. There are variations of ideas and perceptions often stemming from different assumptions about, for example, nature and man. Some of these have also adopted elements of new views about production without necessarily rejecting their previously held views, whether or not these might be compatible.

The first section of this chapter discusses some general aspects related to agricultural production as they are presented at a national level by various authors and groups. These are then

analysed in greater focus in the local context of Horcas and surrounding areas before the Land Reform of 1953 and the years that followed. The third section considers aspects of production as they are expressed and articulated in the area of Sopachuy at present. The final section compares and contrasts what is expressed and done in Horcas with what is presented and intended by development workers operating in the area.

#### General aspects of agricultural production

One of the main issues concerned with agricultural 'production' in the past and present has been land. As has been seen in the chapter on History, the Land Reform is considered, by some, to be a watershed in this respect. According to Urioste (1987), during the creation of the Republic in 1825 11,000 Indian communities were registered, whereas in 1953 only 3,783 were registered. This large decrease, according to the authors, is due to the "devastating feudal latifundista system" (1987:19). The latifundio system is discussed in terms of being an "obstacle" to development. According to the same authors this was also the perception of the political initiators of the Land Reform. The "predominant ideology was to pass from a traditional economy to a modern one" (1987:20). Another view (see Chapter One) refers to the change in direction which occurred during the years following the MNR take over in 1952 and the measures which were finally adopted. MNR popular support stemmed mostly from its expressed concern for 'social justice' and a desire for 'reform' which would 'change' the conditions of the 'oppressed' majorities. However,



this concern was redirected by USA influence (in the form of aid) in Bolivia.

It is now said, by some academics and some personnel in development institutions, that more than 30 years after the Land Reform almost four million campesinos continue to live under the same conditions they did during the Colonial period (Urioste 1984). The same author continues to say that even though there were structural changes made in 1953 (Land Reform, nationalization of the main tin mines and the granting of the right to education and to vote to campesinos), changes in their lives have not been achieved.

It is estimated (Urioste 1987) that there are 550,000 minifundios in Bolivia, and most of these are in the hands of campesinos. They are said to own approximately 4,100,000 hectares of land (cultivable, pasturing, unploughed and forests). This represents an average of 7.45 hectares per each production unit. Among these campesinos, however, there are significant differences in the size of land used: from 50 hectares maximum in some colonization areas in the east of the country, to those by Lake Titicaca or the Valley of Cochabamba where holdings are seldom more than two hectares (Urioste 1987). The same author claims that 93 per cent of the proprietors of minifundios have only 11 per cent of all land, while seven per cent of the proprietors (of medium and large estates) own 89 per cent of all land. Thus, he claims that the Land Reform which began in 1953 has promoted minifundios among campesinos and at the same time promoted latifundios among private enterprise.

Following the Land Reform of 1953 the MACA (Ministerio de Asuntos Campesinos) Ministry for Campesino Matters was created.

Many other institutions have also been created since then: twelve dealing with technical assistance, ten undertaking research, eight dealing with the distribution of products, seven dealing with the control of pests and disease, and 250 field agencies. Not a single one deals with prices or commercialization of crops, nor with the use and distribution of water. The most important of these is: SNRA (Servicio Nacional de Reforma Agraria) National Service of Agrarian Reform. The main function of this institution is to endow title deeds to the beneficiaries of the Land Reform, the campesinos. It should also be in charge of studying constantly the relation between man and land and should propose policies and continuous programmes to up-date the process of Land Reform. These tasks have not been performed for years (Urioste 1984).

A frequent criticism made of the Land Reform is that the problem of land distribution has not been solved. Today more than 30 years after the Land Reform, the size of plots of land in use by a campesino household is in many cases smaller than before the Land Reform. The land that was endowed to most campesinos, and in some cases still being endowed now, were often marginal plots of second class quality use of which they had prior to the Land Reform. In other words, ownership of the land was not theirs, but they could work those plots and make use of the crops harvested. Prior to the Land Reform landlords granted these rights. Furthermore, while the majority of latifundios were reduced to medium sized properties many were not affected, even if unproductive.

Albo (1983) states that following the reform only a minority of cases did some campesino families increase the size of land for their use. Most campesinos received title deeds for those field

(peguiales) which landlords prior to the reform had conceded for their use. Only in those cases where campesinos did not have access to peguiales or these were very small, have there been increases in size of land granted to campesino families. There are marked variations from one area to another. These variations often stem from the influence and resistance exerted by landlords in some areas, the extent of radical or conservative thinking among authorities implementing the reform, and the extent of pressure campesinos were able to apply (Albo 1983). In some cases campesinos, in order to guarantee ownership for land, were willing to pay ex-landowners for land already theirs, and bribe reform authorities.

The Land Reform is also seen as a point of no return, a process which incorporates the rural areas into a "dependant Capitalism" with a "social class" (the campesinos) which ceases to work on the haciendas and gradually deepen their commercial relations with other sectors of Bolivian society. Increasingly, following the Land Reform campesinos enter the money economy. Their sources for money are the sale of surplus crops and the sale of their labour. Urioste refers to this process as agricultural pauperization and urban proletarianization of the Bolivian campesinos and suggests it offers excessive labour supply in the cities, causing a reduction of salaries paid.

One of the major changes, noted by Urioste, resulting from the Land Reform is that now campesinos use their labour in activities which are not always agricultural, and participate simultaneously in two types of economy: a partial self-sufficiency in food (subsistence), and a partial participation in the national

market economy. Albo states that major change with the reform has seen the redistribution of labour. Prior to the reform landlords controlled three to five days unpaid labour each week from each of the colonos in his hacienda. With the reform these colonos could use that labour for themselves. This change, according to Albo, is more significant than the redistribution of land. This has resulted in an increase in production, but mostly in an increase in consumption (1983:34). The decrease in production levels is often stated, but from an urban perspective, that is, representing a decrease in the availability of agricultural produce in the urban markets. Particularly in the years following the reform the decreases were evident. However, Albo states that from the perspective of campesinos there has been an increase in the quantities and varieties consumed by them, which has been reflected in the reduction of the gap between urban and rural groups. He admits that these increases do not yet satisfy nutritional requirements among campesinos.

Another major change attributed to the Land Reform by Albo is the re-structuring of commercialization and marketing of agricultural produce. The direct commercialization of produce by landlords ceased and main market centres used by them also ceased or decreased in importance. Other fairs and town markets have emerged. In the area of La Paz near Lake Titicaca near the frontier with Peru more than thirty new towns have emerged and perhaps double that figure of fairs in the area (Marshall 1970).

Another change has been the rise of merchants, intermediaries and transportistas. Albo analyses the two latter negatively and positively: positive in the sense that campesinos

can use them for purposes which were previously denied to them - negative where the inflationary and bad control the transportistas exert over campesinos. The former are also dependant in more powerful and dominant economic powers (1983:37). One of the most negative effects of the reform, according to Albo, has been the excessive fragmentation and individualization of land. This has fragmented the access to various climates by use of plots of different ecological levels. In the altiplano, he continues, some campesinos have access to twenty, thirty, and even ninety different plots intermingled with those of others (access in some plots may be only to a few furrows) (1983:38). A further consequence attributed to the Land Reform is the "ideology of individualism" introduced into the rural areas. Land and title deeds were endowed to individuals, credit was granted to individuals, technical assistance also was for individuals. These were further mechanisms which eroded any communal spirit and mutual help type of work which might have existed before Colonial times (Urioste 1984).

Regional geographical differences and uneven distribution of the population in relation to agricultural land have also been created by Government policies. The altiplano (16 per cent of the country's total land area) have approximately 38 per cent of the population; the valleys (19 per cent of geographical extension) has approximately 42 per cent of the population (mostly Quechuas); and finally, the Low Lands (65 per cent of the total land area) have only 20 per cent of the population. The largest number of people involved in agriculture in Bolivia is found in the altiplano and in the valleys. The density per square kilometre may be low, but where there is high density is in relation to cultivable hectare.

At the same time there are areas with resources (agricultural) which are not developed due to lack of adequate technology and sufficient population (Albo 1983). Most belong to campesino communities and have a subsistence economy geared towards self-sufficiency and are also involved as wage-earners, but unable to satisfy their basic needs. Their occasional surplus enables them to acquire certain other goods through market exchanges. Campesinos are integrated into the national economy in a heterogeneous dependent and imbalanced way (Urioste 1984). The same author continues to say that production by these units are carried out done in conditions of rudimentary technology. And yet, he continues, these production units satisfy a large proportion of the food requirements of the country as a whole.

The increase in productivity alone does not give campesinos the possibility of improving their income. Urioste suggests that increase in productivity alone without a strong form of social organization which would represent campesinos' interests in negotiations concerning price policies and an adequate commercialization system, would not improve their conditions.

The unbalanced relationship of campesinos with the dominant market economy of the country places campesinos and their families at the mercy of intermediaries, hauliers and profiteers. Urioste makes a case for suggesting that the Bolivian State is "anti-campesino" by showing the lack of attention and facilities provided by the State to the campesinos, while allocating large proportions of the national budget to other regional areas or groups. "More than 60 per cent of the population in Bolivia are campesinos, who are dedicated mostly to working on the land, and yet, they only

received two per cent of the national general budget in 1983" (Urioste 1984:44). The problem, he continues, is not only the shortage of funds allocated to the agricultural sector, but also that 80 per cent of these are allocated to Institutions related to this sector which administer these funds. Furthermore, a large proportion of these funds are spent on salaries of the large bureaucracies dealing with this sector (Urioste 1984).

Migration from rural to urban areas also stimulates, according to Urioste, a process of proletarianization. Shortage of land and increasing need for cash, causes the migration particularly of young campesinos to the cities, or to areas of "colonization",<sup>1</sup> to the Chapare,<sup>2</sup> and to Argentina. Albo writes that until recently Argentina was the principal pull for migration. Till 1975 it is estimated that 50,000 to 80,000 day labourers annually crossed the frontier. The economic prominence in recent years of eastern areas in Bolivia has changed this some extent (1983:13). A further migration pull is to the cities, mostly to the city of Santa Cruz, and to a lesser extent to La Paz and Cochabamba.

Seasonal migration and the sale of labour force does not, however, improve living conditions or levels of subsistence among campesinos. Those campesinos who migrate do not obtain significant increases in income. In the majority of cases migration is not necessarily an incentive to increase the family's living conditions, but rather a response to the imbalance between population, productive resources, man and land (Urioste, 1984).

Local views of pre- and post-Land Reform

This section discusses a number of groups which were relevant at the time of the Land Reform (1953) not only in relation to Horcas but also to the Canton of Sopachuy in general. The ideas and expressions of each group concerning the pre and post Land Reform days, the changes brought by the reforms and their interpretations of the changes, examined in turn.

(a) The patrones (landowners of haciendas). The patrones were a group of landowners in the area who had absolute authority over their haciendas and were able to reap high yields in terms of profits from their estates. They were openly opposed to the Land Reform and attempted to organize themselves to defend their interests and continue to profit from cheap labour. In the area of Horcas, there were two such landowners who belong to the group of influential families in the town of Sopachuy. Most landowners had their houses in the town and a casa de hacienda (country home) in the area of their estate. Briefly, the labour system which operated in the area prior to the Land Reform provided of not only cheap labour for landowners, but unpaid labour. With the system of the pongeaje, landowners had access to fourteen days monthly, unpaid labour from each of the colonos living in their haciendas.

Maize and potato were and are the main crops produced in this area. In the days before the Land Reform, most of the agricultural produce from the area was directed towards the mining Department of Potosi. Landowners had a constant market in areas where such produce is not produced, or produced in smaller quantities.



when talking to city people and/or other landowning families in the town. On the other hand, this boundary is given a different shape when dealing with campesinos. Many of the campesinos who live in their ex-haciendas maintain compadrazgo (godparent relationships) ties with these landowning families. Interchanges take place between them; agricultural produce, goods and labour from the part of campesinos for goods brought from the city (rice, sugar, alcohol, coca leaves, and so on), transportation on their lorries, hospitality when they are in town (food and lodgings for the odd night). Apart from these interchanges, the relationship between compadres (the parents of the godchild and the godparents) is intricate, in terms of their obligations and duties.

(b) Development Workers

The development workers discussed here belong mostly to three development institutions working in the area. Particular attention, however, was paid to one of these institutions (see Introduction). Most professional staff in these institutions considered the days prior to the Land Reform as a period when the campesinos were exploited. They were times when a few privileged families who owned large haciendas (estates) made large profits at the expense of campesinos. The prevailing structure in the country was such that the substantial profits from mineral exploitation were distributed among the dominant minority, often referred to as the 'oligarchy'. Agricultural production levels were higher and markets were secure in the sense that high proportions of what was produced were transported and sold in the mining areas. It is argued that the infrastructure of roads and railway lines between the mining

centres and the valleys was laid down precisely to improve and maintain a steady supply of agricultural produce and so on.

Despite changes in these conditions, and Land Reform, most development workers consider conditions for campesinos have not changed markedly. This view is particularly felt in relation to the distribution of land (as explained in the first section of this chapter). The most marked changes are in terms of labour relations between campesinos and their potential employers. There is a general disappointment with the way in which the Land Reform was carried out. Some professional staff from some development institutions (not only from this area, or department) are proposing a "second land reform", stressing the commercialization aspects of agricultural production, with more significant technical and financial assistance, together with a review of the distribution of land.

Development workers are concerned with the unchanging marketable production levels of agricultural produce in the area for the last decades. During the severe drought of 1983 production levels (for consumption and market) were seriously reduced. It was at this time that several development institutions in the country participated in one large project extending to several Departments. The intention of the project was to raise levels of production in those areas particularly affected by the drought. This project continues today, and is the main project of one institution working in the area of Sopachuy. The aim to raise levels of production is still current policy, although other aims and modifications have been included. This will be discussed more fully in the final section of this chapter.

It is acknowledged by most development workers that with the reforms accompanying the Land Reform the subservience of campesinos was abolished. Furthermore, the feudal system of land tenure was also ended, and many campesinos were granted the right to own and use land, previously denied to them. However, these reforms were said to lack technical and financial support for campesinos. They further acknowledge the continuation in the country as a whole both of the pre-1953 forms of production and the corresponding political systems which continue to serve the interests of the dominant minority. These mechanisms of domination include control over school curriculum contents, governmental policies which maintain low prices for campesino produce, and meagre support from the State for the agricultural sector of the valleys and the altiplano. Economic exploitation, they further suggest, is also accompanied by a "cultural-ideological" and a "political" one. According to many development workers and social analysts, the productive efforts of campesinos subsidize the dominant minorities as a result of an increasingly unfavourable relation of exchange. The prices most campesinos receive for the sale of their products are below production costs, while at the same time campesinos must buy goods at constantly rising prices. Furthermore, campesinos sell their labour harvesting sugar cane, cotton, and other crops for wages which are inadequate for the hours and conditions of work. They suggest, that since 1953, though many campesinos are owners of plots of land, they do not own the product of their labour. They admit to the difficulty of knowing exactly the present structure of land tenure in many areas, but it is evident that despite the reversion of a proportion of land from the haciendas to local campesinos in

last 15 years land is again becoming concentrated in the hands of a few new latifundistas.

(c) Sindicato leaders

During the initial implementation of the Land Reform, the Leaders of the recently formed sindicatos campesinos played an important role in the distribution of land among the members of their communities and in representing their members in disputes in the agrarian tribunals. They also had an effect on the new relations that emerged as a result of the Land Reform and other reforms of the same year. These leaders were supposed to be the voice of the campesinos in local legal proceedings of the Land Reform

In interviews and conversations with leaders and ordinary community members a simple view of the campesinos did not emerge. The ideas and views of campesinos during those days contain variations; a large proportion of the political ideology of the MNR and the strands of the divisions within this party at that time were voiced. In general there was a certain feeling of expectation in relation to the Land Reform and with what was being offered. When talking to dirigentes who were active during those days, they sometimes voiced key phrases of the time emerge. These include positive key phrases such as freedom for campesinos, land for campesinos, votes and education for campesinos, dirigentes; and negative key words such as oligarchy, pongos (unpaid labourers), subservience, latifundios. Discussions concerning recollections of pre- and during 1953 include these terms in relation to land and the distribution of it. Dirigentes are spoken of not in terms of a

single category, but on the contrary, strong variations and rivalries are mentioned. Such and such a dirigente, for example, relied on his own kin and followers within the communities and neighbouring communities to maintain and extend his position. These followers might have got preferential treatment with Land Reform authorities. Such and such a dirigente was able to manipulate his links with outsiders (outside his own community and region) providing political alliance and support in exchange for favours and resources. Some dirigentes remained marginal to the political fervour of those days. Some cantonal or provincial authorities distributed resources, favours, support and legitimization in order to maintain certain dirigentes and to remove others.

An important group of people at that time, and who continue to be related to land disputes and current land distribution today, are the jueces agrarios (agrarian judges). They, together with the land surveyor (topografos), were in charge of delineating each property and of determining the application of the laws of the Land Reform. Their interpretations of the law gave the final classification of holdings. If a holding was classified as a latifundio this required a redistribution not only of land which had been utilized by campesinos in the past, but also a redistribution of the rest of the estate .

The initial steps following the Land Reform were to organize sindicatos in the haciendas in order to make demands in line with the new rights of campesinos. They initially gained the right to cultivate for their exclusive benefit those fields of the hacienda on which they had previously had use rights in return for labour obligations. Secondly, these subservient labour relations with the

landowner were abolished. The second right was slower in its implementation and was dependant on the influence of the landowner with the new Land Reform authorities. The distribution of land was also a slow process and, as mentioned earlier, the granting of title deeds and precise demarcation still continues in many cases to be an issue today. For each hacienda an agrarian court was set up to direct and interpret the law. This consisted of an agrarian judge, a land surveyor (from the Agrarian Reform Institution), the landowners, and several secretaries of the Federation of Sindicatos Campesinos (from the Provincial, Canton and local levels). Compared with other Departments like La Paz and Cochabamba, where many landowners were forced to leave their haciendas due to the threat of violence, in Sopachuy the implementation of the Land Reform and the formation of sindicatos proceeded much more slowly. Gradually sindicatos were set up in the area, in each of the Cantons' capitals (for example in Sopachuy), and eventually offices were set up in the provincial capitals, and these in turn were part of the Federation for the whole Department of Chuquisaca.

Landowners were able to use an important tactic to defend their interests within the process of the Land Reform. They were able to exert some political control by obtaining posts within the MNR (the political party then in power), and within campesino organizations, i.e. the various levels of the Federation of Sindicatos (at Canton, Provincial, and Departmental levels). For example, the representative of the Sindicato Campesino at the Canton level in Sopachuy, during my fieldwork, was not a campesino but a man from a local landowning family who had been a member of the MNR since the 1950s. Another landowner in Sopachuy, an ardent member of

the MNR, had been able to retain a larger proportion of his estate by his membership and influence within the Party. In the recent elections he was the main representative of the MNR in Sopachuy.

(d) "The Campesinos"

Amongst the campesinos, there are distinctions which were made by the agrarian authorities and also by campesinos themselves. Within the hacienda system divisions were made between colonos campesinos living on the hacienda providing labour sources to the landowner and utilizing the benefits of a plot of land also owned by the landowner; arrenderos campesinos from other areas, (many from the Province of Yamparaez) who worked the land of the landowners in exchange for rights to the produce. A third category were the originarios - said to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of the area. They shared grazing areas with the landowners, and in the Land Reform they had rights to communal land. The reform affected not so much their access to land as the type of relations they had with colonos and arimantes living in the lower areas. These relations had previously related to exchanges of produce and ritual offerings, but after the reform included labour relations and pasture rights expressed in an idiom of exchanges.

Local Current Aspects of Production

(a) The household

Household members comprise the main production unit in Horcas and in surrounding communities. Production roles of household members are differentiated according to gender and age.

The preparation of the soil and clearing of the fields (barbecho (first ploughing, and ploughing ready for sowing) is done by adult men. If they are not available from the previous harvest the obtaining of seeds from other communities and/or areas and/or from development projects is also a task of the male members of a household. Seeds are mostly obtained through exchanges with members of neighbouring communities or with landowners in the town. Obtaining seeds may involve journeys on foot for several days, transporting the seeds on donkeys. Within the household men are also involved in weaving (of certain objects) and in making household utensils (such as wooden plates and spoons), together with tools used in the fields (most ploughs used are made of wood).

Women's principal task in agricultural production is sowing. It is an activity done solely by women, and one which requires a knowledge of the depth and distance for placing the seeds, especially for potato seed. It is mostly adult women (married or single) who are involved in this activity. During the harvest, women play an important role in deciding what is to be used as seed for the following season, (provided the harvest was sufficient for this purpose), what is to be utilized for consumption within the household, and what may be used for exchanges. Depending on circumstances, these decisions are often changed. Proportions of the harvest to be utilized for feeding all those involved in the harvest is also a decision of the women. Women prepare and distribute food to be consumed after the harvest. Cooking is an important part of women's role, not only during harvesting and sowing, but also during fiestas and, of course, for the daily feeding of household members. Weaving is a further important task



undertaken by them. Not all weaving is done by women - this will depend on the objects woven. A large proportion of what is woven is for use within the household, and, when necessary, for exchange. Spinning is also a daily activity done by women, especially while chatting and socializing, and on journeys to and from the town and neighbouring communities while walking.

Children up to the ages of approximately 14 or 15 are involved to a large extent in caring for the animals (cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys). Not every household keeps all these animals. This activity involves guarding the animals while grazing, bringing them backwards and forwards from the household to different grazing areas, and milking the cows. When the children are too young, the younger women in the household carry out these activities. Children are also involved in fetching firewood for cooking and fetching water for use within the household. An important role undertaken by the older children is looking after the younger ones. Children also participate in agricultural activities, especially during the busy periods. They are deeply involved in harvesting and in the preparatory tasks for sowing. During weeding and during the aporque (softening earth, earthing up) their presence is also required. Boys, from a very young age (about five years old onwards) spend some of their time ploughing with their fathers. Both father and son hold on to the plough and direct the oxen up and down the fields. Similarly, young girls follow their mothers and/or sisters when placing the seeds, and while weeding and earthing up.

In addition to be above it is important to remember that both men and women are involved in exchange relations with kin, fictive kin and other people from neighbouring communities. These

exchanges may involve crops, other goods from the household, labour, and ritual obligations. A large proportion of the roles in rituals and offerings are performed by men (mostly older men).

(b) Land.

Land is an important factor in production within Horcas and in neighbouring communities. However, as mentioned in Chapter Two, there is considerable variation in the size, type and ecological position of the fields used by households in Horcas. It is not only that the size of fields limits the quantities of crops produced, but also the ecological position of the field will determine the type of crop grown and the timing of sowing and harvesting. This is particularly the case in relation to irrigation. Fields on the higher area of Horcas are entirely rain-fed. This factor together with the climatic conditions determine the type of seeds and crops that can be utilized, and the timing of sowing and harvesting. Consequently access to more than one ecological level provides access to different types of crops at different times of the agricultural calendar.

Horcas can be divided into three land-use zones depending on the altitude. The first, the lower zone (in closer proximity to the town of Sopachuy) is where most of the ex-colonos and ex-arrenderos have most of their fields. These fields are larger in size and some have access to irrigation from streams and tributaries to the river. The two ex-landowners continue to own some land on this lower part. It is on this lower part too that the household with most access to land is said to own seven hectares. Not all seven hectares have access to irrigation, but are distributed among irrigated and non-

irrigated plots in fairly close proximity on undulating hills. It is also on this lower zone that five households (all kin members) share three hectares of land. According to my records these household had less access to land than others in Horcas. Approximately, 55 per cent of households on the lower zone have access to irrigation for their fields. A larger proportion of households in Horcas are on the lower zone (about 45 per cent). On average these households have access to fields (between two and a half to three hectares) on the lower zone. The second zone (approximately 35 per cent of households) have smaller fields stretched along mountain edges, up the ever narrowing valley. The estimated average size of the fields is approximately two to two and a half hectares for each household. The third zone is closest to the Alto at an altitude of between 2,700 to 2,900 meters. Here approximately 20 per cent of the households have access to even smaller plots of land for cultivation, but have larger areas for grazing animals. The topography changes again in this zone where land is not as uneven as in the second zone.

Access to different types and locations of land, has an important effect on the production strategies employed by household members. This will be discussed in more detail in the following pages. Households which have access to more than one zone (through kin and marriage links) cope better with climatic problems which may affect one of the zones (for example, a severe frost). Similarly, the type of crops acquired is broader, and the possibilities for exchange are increased. Access to only one zone narrows these possibilities and encourages the use of labour as an item for exchange. Some household members who only have access to fields on

the lower zone, for example, work as agricultural labourers in other zones for other households (not necessarily kin) in exchange for a portion of the harvest. In other words, the extent to which land is used as a main source of income varies from household to household, depending to a large extent on the position, size, and type of fields available.

(c) Other sources of income.

The seasonality of agricultural activities determines to a large extent what other income-generating activities may be engaged in. The extent to which each household is involved in other income-generating activities depends on the household's position in relation to access to land as explained above. These may be as agricultural labourers in the town, as craftsmen and as masons making tiles or working for the priest. Temporary migration (during the slack agricultural months) to other regions of the country provides higher cash returns than working in Sopachuy. Although the economic incentive is a determining factor, young men (from their late teens to early thirties) are often keen to visit other regions. A large proportion of the cash earned on these occasions is turned into manufactured goods, such as watches, radios, batteries, tape recorders, cassettes and clothes. Sometimes, foodstuffs (sugar, rice, etc.) not produced locally but grown in the area of migration, are purchased and resold in the community. This is on a small scale however due to the high cost of transportation paid to transportistas. Temporary migration not only provides access to extra cash and manufactured goods for households but these young men gain the experience of travelling which is valued within the

communities. Furthermore, their use of Spanish is encouraged, especially in the Department of Santa Cruz, which in turn makes them eligible for working as promotores with development institutions and the priest. It also facilitates their dealings with people in the town, especially the local authorities, and on future journeys. A knowledge of Spanish is also desired for dirigentes.

The division of labour within the household is affected the agricultural calendar. The absence of the male members of the household requires women to take on extra activities, such as going on exchange journeys to neighbouring communities, seeking employment in the town, mostly through their compadrazgo ties; and selling and exchanging goods in the town. The prolonged absences of the mother or elder sister in turn alters the activities of those remaining household members, such as the children and older members. Sometimes the older children are involved in agricultural activities with other households in the community or in the town with their compadres as part of an exchange arrangement, mostly in kind. During the slack agricultural months some household members are involved in weaving and making utensils and tools.

The seasonality of labour is linked with ritual seasonality. As indicated in Chapter Two the main events in agricultural activities are marked by a religious/ritual event. Most notably the two most important events in Horcas identified by people - All Saints and Carnival - are associated with harvests and the rainy and dry seasons. The importance of ritual in production cannot be over stressed. In fact, most people in Horcas do not make the distinction. When one talks of Carnival one also means harvest, a time for entering into a special relationship with Pachamama. When

one talks of All Saints one means the celebration of death and life in relation to ancestors, harvests, and to the onset of the rainy season. The demarcation of forthcoming and past events is expressed in relation to the religious/ritual events outlined in Chapter Two. Individual life-cycle events (birth, ritual outlining a change of status within the household of a child (Que.; coloy rootuy - first cutting of the hair), confirmation, marriage, death) are discussed in the context of religious/ritual events. Similarly, the organization of fiestas and community activities is also spoken of in relation to forthcoming religious/ritual events.

### Strategies

As referred to above, households employ different production strategies according to their access to various productive resources. Limited access to land encourages a deeper involvement in exchanges for labour and in the sale of labour. Households on the third zone of Horcas employ more resources in grazing animals and in exchanging grazing areas for agricultural produce grown in the lower zones. Those households who own more cattle enter into exchange agreements, for example, providing cattle for use by a household which does not have access to oxen for ploughing.

Some weeks before All Saints, many households from the lower zones take their cattle to the higher zones for grazing. The animals are left up there for grazing until approximately Easter. Since most of the fields in the lower zones are cultivated during those months cattle would not have enough to eat if not transferred to the higher zones. Some household members in the lower zones spend

time (several days or weeks) up on the higher zones caring for their animals. Most households have kin and marriage links with other households in the higher zone. Keeping a watchful eye on animals belonging to other households (whose members are absent at the time) is a further form of exchange. The loss of a cow or oxen causes great distress and may involve repeated visits to the local aisiri and several days searching for the animal. Sometimes animals are stolen or fall down a precipice. Aisiris are able to give guidance as to where the animal could be and whether continued searching would be worth while. .

Individual production strategies are closely related to the strategies employed by the household in general. However, often a young man's decision to migrate may not coincide with the decisions of other members of his household. On these occasions the aisiri is likely to be consulted. Similarly, the decision of a young man to continue or not as a promotor and catechist leader may cause disagreements within the household. This decision has serious implications within the household. If the promotor is a promotor zonal (i.e. covering several communities) he receives a monthly salary from the development institution in question. Working as a promotor zonal also means dedicating several days (fifteen days a month as calculated by development workers) to a particular development project. Consequently, this reduces time for other activities normally carried out. This schedule becomes particularly difficult during busy agricultural periods, which often coincide with busy periods for the development project (especially if the latter is directed to agricultural production). Promotores comunales (covering only their own community) are expected to spend less time

on the development projects, but nevertheless they often complain that they have insufficient time to devote to both, their own duties and to those of the project.

An important aspect of the strategies employed by households and individuals relate to exchanges. A large proportion of ayni (mutual exchanges) take place between kin. These may involve exchanges of crops, of labour (for agriculture, building or repairing houses, pasturing animals, etc.), of goods produced within the household, and of ritual services. The latter refer to tasks performed by several kin members in preparation for the fiesta (when one household head is the pasante (sponsor). These ritual exchanges may also involve offerings by one kin member who may have more experience and knowledge than the person who needs to make such offerings. An important aspect of these exchanges between kin is that in the majority of cases, they are between zones and the produce exchanged varies according to the location of fields. Not only are crops and other household goods exchanged, but also information. Although most of the people who participated on one agricultural production project were from the lower zones in Horcas, a bad potato harvest in the higher zones prompted many people from Horcas and neighbouring communities (from the higher zones) to attempt to join the project. They were well aware of what to say to development workers in the sense that they knew what the development workers wished to hear. They offered to work in groups and put forward the use of a field which could be used communally. This offer was made despite the voiced and marked preference among most campesinos in the area to work individually, i.e. not communally.



Exchanges do not only involve members of the same community but also involve relations with kin and non-kin members in other neighbouring communities cross-cutting various land-use zones. Furthermore, important exchange relations are made with people in the town. Most of the compadrazgo ties are with people in Sopachuy. These are mostly people on a higher economic level, whether ex-campesinos living in the town or, more often, landowning families who are likely to have had a hacienda in the godchild's community. This will be discussed in more detail later. The relevance of compadrazgo here is its bearing on exchanges. These exchanges may involve on the part of campesinos agricultural crops or labour in exchange for other crops or for cash. They may also involve certain produce, for example, eggs or chickens, in exchange for goods not produced in the area, such as sugar, rice, coca leaves, alcohol and so on. Another important element of exchanges between compadres is the participation of the town people in the religious and ritual events in the communities. During All Saints, for example, the godparents of a deceased child, will have a prominent place in the celebrations in the child's household and community. In other words, exchanges between compadres cut across what may be called economic links but also enter into other areas such as participation in fiestas and household celebrations in households in Horcas (for example, weddings, confirmations, etc.), which of course are not distinguished by most people in Horcas.

The aisiris have an important part to play in all individual and household strategies. This is particularly the case in agricultural production strategies, where at repeated intervals during the agricultural cycle, there is a need to make offerings to

ancestors and spirits. Depending on what climatic conditions have been and are expected, the aisiri will arrange for the appropriate ingredients and offerings to be made. Furthermore, the nature of the offerings also concern the condition of the crops and relationship with Pachamama. Similarly, arrangements and activities undertaken during religious and rituals events are inextricably linked to what I am here calling 'production'. These relate to offerings to spirits made to cope better with problematic climatic conditions and the celebrations made during, for example, Carnival.

(e) External factors.

In a sense these factors have become more immediate and less 'external' to campesino communities since the Land Reform. Clearly, the present system of land distribution has a direct effect on production. Equally, as many analysts and development workers have argued, there is a serious lack of technical and financial support to increase levels of production and enable campesinos to cope more successfully with the uncertainties of nature.

Increasingly since 1953 campesinos in the area of Sopachuy are becoming involved in a market economy over which they and their communities have hardly any influence, other than an indirect one by being producers of agricultural crops and hence having a bearing on supply levels. The prices campesinos receive are, as analysed by Urioste (1984), below their production costs, while at the same time desired manufactured goods continually rise in price.

Campesino national organizations such as the Corporacion Agricola Campesina (CORACA) (Agricultural Corporation of Campesinos) and the sindicato campesino have to a large extent being organised

and run vertically, i.e. through a leadership which has an urban top-down perspective. CORACA, as will be discussed in later chapters, has not quite got off the ground and has run into problems from the start. The intention was to encourage and organize the commercialization and transportation of agricultural and other goods produced by campesino communities with the participation campesinos themselves through CORACA. This was to have been done at a national level so as to be able to direct produce for sale at better, more appropriate prices in relation to supply and demand in different regions. The sindicato campesino, as previously mentioned in Chapter One, has directed its attention more to political issues than to economic ones.

The emphasis of development institutions on 'production' has been fairly recent. Many institutions in the area did not seriously began to direct their projects towards 'production' until during and after the severe drought of 1983. In Chapter Six it will be shown that institutions began by focussing on education and later on organization before arriving at production as their main area of concern. No figures are available as yet, however, as to the changes in production levels that may have occurred in the last few years.

The shift in emphasis towards production has in practice largely meant new sources for acquiring seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and spraying equipment. For many young men from the communities it has meant new sources of employment and new sources for acquiring 'knowledge' and skills which development workers present as being essential for improving their living conditions. It has also meant for most campesinos a new source of information.

Development workers have also entered into a role of intermediaries between the communities they visit, the town and the city. Many campesinos visit development institution office, when in Sucre, for assistance and guidance in their dealing with governmental bureaucracies. Often this assistance is initiated when development workers are visiting communities. Development workers transport is sometimes used by campesinos to go to and from Sucre (usually at no charge).

Although many development institutions try to introduce other goals such as 'organization' through projects primarily directed to production, such attempts have not had markedly successful results. One project was attempting to change the organization of agricultural labour by discouraging the household unit of production in favour of a communal unit of production. This project was being reviewed at the time of my departure, since insistence on this 'organizational' aspect was causing severe problems. Similarly, the project which presented production in terms of cooperative organization had problems in maintaining cohesion within the cooperatives formed. In other words, the presence of development institutions has direct effects on availability of productive inputs such as seeds and so on, but other intended effects, such as an increase in organizational capacity are less visible despite the rhetorical insistence on their relevance to production.

### Alternative Discourses of Production

For the purpose of comparing and contrasting campesino ideas, priorities and so on concerning production in Horcas and other communities with those of development workers certain themes have been selected. Despite variations between campesinos and development workers discourse the attempt here is to identify underlying assumptions which give these themes a certain coherence.

A preliminary contrast concerns the compartmentalization by development workers of certain aspects of daily life, for example, the distinction made between production, organization, 'education', not to mention economic, political, cultural, and so on. This compartmentalization forms an important part of the design, elaboration, discussion, implementation and evaluation of projects. It is also an important part of the analysis of problems and solutions identified within development institutions (at various levels) for the "beneficiaries" of such project. Accordingly, in a given development institution each section may have an "expert" in the relevant "field". For example, agronomists in the section/project dealing with production, a woman in the section/project dealing with Promocion femenina (relating to women's concerns) and so on. Such compartmentalization comes into conflict with the way in which most campesinos in the area talk about, express, organise and arrange their lives.

During courses for promotores and in discussions of the projects in communities, production is presented in two ways. First, production refers to an abstract rationality which finds expression in terms of numbers, accounting, production costs,

production relations, local and national market conditions of demand and supply, and so on. There is the implicit assumption that growth/increase in production levels is highly desirable as a condition for improving living conditions for campesinos. Indirectly or directly, the trend is towards a deeper involvement in a market economy. In other words, all agricultural production to be directed to a single goal.

As we have seen, most campesinos in the area are involved to a limited extent in a market economy, and given the general economic situation in Bolivia, it could well be argued that a deeper involvement might have more negative than positive effects in terms of campesinos' "living conditions". As outlined above, what a household produces in Horcas is divided taking into account the conditions and requirements of household, exchange partners and communities. This system acknowledges more fully the "uncertainties" faced by each household. .

Secondly, 'production' refers mostly to the work in the fields. Not all development workers are trained as agronomists, and in some ways the non-agronomists seem to communicate better with campesinos. However, most institutions I visited had engaged agronomists trained either at a university or technical college. The language they use in communities and during courses tends to be laced with technical terms. A first difficulty was that of translating or explaining these terms in Quechua. Furthermore, their approach to 'production' is mostly on large scale terms. Large and even fields which can take mechanization and with access to irrigation are foci of their method of work. They acknowledge, that currently campesinos "have not yet reached" those conditions,

and adaptations need to be made. Agronomists are regarded by both campesinos and other development workers as "arrogant" and are well known for speaking to campesinos with contempt. They think of themselves as possessing the "real knowledge" in relation to agricultural production.

Within Horcas there is a marked preference for sowing on small fields, especially if there is access to similar sized fields in other zones. This, as we saw earlier, not only ensures variety of produce but also guards against climatic disruptions and disease which can damage crops on a single level. The variation of seeds and timing of sowing within a zone also acts as a safeguard. For example, within a single zone, even a single field, seeds are sown within weeks of one another, as a protection against severe climatic conditions and/or disease. Furthermore, it was explained to me that the long journeys in search of seeds from other areas ensured stronger plants (provided they were the appropriate seeds in the first place). Repeated use of the same seeds in the same area was said to weaken the plants. One of the production projects in the area was operating with imported (Chilean and Dutch) seeds. The agronomist on the project assured users that these were the best seeds for the area. Some campesinos cautiously noted that the imported seeds were more prone to disease than seeds they had previously used. Just as cautiously their comments were not made in the presence of the agronomist!

Development workers discuss projects in communities mostly with men. At some meetings women are present, but they hardly ever take part in discussions or conversations relating to the project. Participants in courses for promotores were all young men

(mostly in their twenties and early thirties). Courses for promotoras were separate and the curriculum for these did not cover 'production'. Here again promotoras are young women (mostly unmarried). A strong emphasis in these courses was given to nutrition within household and pre and post natal care. Promotoras were also given courses on the political and economic conditions of the region and country as a whole. In any case, the absence of 'production' in courses and talks to women in the communities was clear. The way in which projects for women are designed and implemented further reflects the dominance of assumptions from other cultures in contact with campesinos. This is reflected in the way in which certain projects for women only are designed and presented. While women are encouraged to participate more in the meetings in communities, and to take on a more "dominant" role within the household, their important participation in the 'production' process within the household is ignored. This issue will be dealt more fully in later chapters, but in anticipation it may suffice to say that the dominance of the discourse concerning the position of women in developed countries not only encourages an artificial separation between the sexes, but has also silences or ignores the different position of women within these campesino communities.

As already noted, campesinos frequently talk about crops, their care and nurturing in relation to Pachamama. This is most evident during the celebration of Carnival. In fact, during all periods of the agricultural cycle, spirits (whether good or evil or both) are discussed in relation to agricultural activities, to relationships with people in the communities and to those with outsiders. The concern with agricultural activities and adverse



climatic conditions to the former are frequently expressed in offerings made to particular spirits. In other words, what is called by some 'production' is not separated by campesinos from what others call 'ritual' and 'religion'. Both are considered part of one another together with other aspects of life.

The assumption that ritual and religion should be avoided and given less prominence in the activities in communities is often made by development workers. They are sometimes referred to as "magico-religious" practices which reinforce the "backward" life style of campesinos. Concern with these kind of practices, ideally, should be replaced by an increased awareness of their "reality" in relation to local and regional socio-economic conditions.

A further miscommunication lies in the relationship between campesinos and landowners and transportistas (hauliers) in the town who are not always talked about in negative exploitative terms. The latter is frequently done by development workers with an understandable concern given the prices demanded of campesinos for the transportation of the latter's produce, and the low prices paid to campesinos for the latter's crops. However, for many campesinos some landowners and transportistas in the town are also their compadres with whom frequent and varied contact is maintained. I was told by an old man: "yes, they (landowners/transportistas) ask us for a lot of money when we want to take crops to the city, and they don't give us much when we bring them things or work on their fields, but when we need something in the town we can go to our compadres".

Although my intention is to stress areas of miscommunication between development workers and their

"beneficiaries", it is important to stress the fact that the material position of the campesinos nationally and particularly in the area of Sopachuy is a difficult one to put it mildly. The rate of infant mortality is high, the degree of malnutrition is particularly noticeable among children, the nutritional intake is certainly not balanced. The work of many development institutions is particularly concerned with attempting to ameliorate these conditions by providing not simply immediate solutions to these problems (for example by provision of foodstuffs as is done by some institutions), but - which they see as paternalistic and assistentialist role with their beneficiaries which they wish to avoid - but rather by attempting to strengthen their position within the regional and national political and economic contexts. More recently it has been through their focus on 'production' that many such institutions are striving to reach these goals.

This chapter has concentrated on the discourses of 'production' at a national and local level, and particular focus on the latter has highlighted areas of miscommunication between the different discourses. The following chapter concentrates on discourses of 'organization and leadership' in order to highlight degrees of communication and miscommunication between these.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Government and some private institutions sponsor migration from the altiplano and valleys to eastern areas, making grants of land and some financial and technical assistance.
2. Coca growing area in the Department of Cochabamba.

## Chapter Six

### ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

The concept 'organization' forms part of the explicit aims of some development projects, and is often presented as the means to reach the goals of general well being for the people, the campesinos. 'Organization' is a key term not only for development workers but also for other groups, such as the priest, the sindicato campesino representatives at Canton, Provincial and Departmental levels. It is often proposed as a means towards liberation, conscientization, 'advancement, improvement. Although 'organization' is referred to in generally positive terms, particular meanings or uses of the word are not always made explicit. When 'organization' is made explicit, the type of organization referred to is presented as the one form of organization to be achieved, so implicitly excluding and denying others. Moreover, forms of 'organization' such as, for example, that of the aisiris are not acknowledged by development workers, nor are they called by that name by people in communities.

Although not always voiced, the link between 'organization' and 'leadership' is often present. A particular form of leadership is sometimes promoted by those advocating a particular form of organization. Proposed forms of both leadership and organization may be in conflict with an existing form of leadership/organization. For example, one of the private development institutions promotes and implements its projects by explicitly encouraging the

leadership of the dirigente of the sindicato in each community while at the time implicitly encouraging the leadership of their promotores. Other development institutions also work with promotores and implicitly attribute to them the role of leader. Furthermore, the form of organization encouraged by each development institution is presented as being the sole appropriate and effective form of organization which will act as the means for liberation, conscientization, well being, and so on. In other words promotores, attached to the various development institutions, are trained to stress particular forms of organization. Which form of organization a promotor pursues often depends on which institution he is dealing with at a given time and occasion since sometimes promotores are simultaneously attached to more than one. Lack of coordination, and sometimes rivalry, between institutions operating in the same area sometimes results in the narrowing or selective interpretation of messages by promotores.

I take the term 'message' in a wide sense to mean the terms and ideas presented by development workers during their courses to promotores and during their visits to communities. In the case of one institution for example, messages concerning organization may consist of the following: the ideal form of sindicato campesino is the sole desirable form of organization within each community, it is through and with the sindicato that the ideals of unity, solidarity, democracy, strength, communal work, and higher production levels can be sought more efficiently. Another institution, which receives some of its financial support from private commercial groups, refers to organization when talking to promotores in the following terms: higher levels of production,

'strength' and 'economic power' is achievable through the efficient management of resources by the cooperative within each community, which in turn is linked to other cooperatives in other communities and the town. Stress is placed on benefits solely for cooperative members rather than for the community as a whole.

I use the term 'narrowing' of messages in a variety of senses. The short or long term implications of adopting one form of organization rather than another are not examined by promotores. Development workers usually present these forms of organization in their ideal forms, while promotores discuss them with campesinos according to their immediate experiences of them. The echoing by promotores of such terms as unity or communal work in their onward presentations of these messages does not mean that they have adopted the underlying ideas and assumptions held by development workers. There is a further implicit narrowing which is achieved by the same promotor talking to the same campesinos on one occasion about sindicatos and on another about cooperatives. When development workers introduce and explain these terms and ideas during courses, discussion, contradictions, and questioning are exceptional. However, when promotores introduce the same terms and ideas to campesinos they are frequently questioned, and problems encountered with, for example, communal work, or in matters of organization are raised and discussed in terms of concrete experience.

This chapter deals with various forms of 'organization' talked about, practised and variously encouraged, adopted or rejected in the area of Sopachuy. The first section deals with the role of aisiris and the extent to which they may be said to

contribute towards a certain organizational coherence of ideas and beliefs. The second section considers organizational links with town people such as landowners and compadres, and through them to forms of organization in the town. The role of the sindicato campesino as it actually operates in Horcas is compared to the ideal form of the sindicato as advocated by development workers. The third section analyses new forms of organization and leadership in particular the role of the promotores. The actual work of promotores and perceptions of it in the communities is compared with what is intended by the development institutions.

There is little positive acknowledgement of pre-existing forms of leadership and organization by development workers or other outsiders. Aisiris ' are prominent people in their region. They are mostly older men whose knowledge is recognised, appreciated, and at times feared by people within communities. Their knowledge and guidance is sought in most aspects of daily life. Nonetheless, they are often condemned by outsiders as "pagan", "superstitious" and/or as "hindrances to liberation", to "change" or "progress".

'Those Who Know' and Those 'Who Want to Know'

Aisiris are not referred to as 'leaders' by campesinos. But they are acknowledged as people who must be turned to in situations of crisis, whether for communities, households or individuals. Aisiris are also sought after to help in more everyday decisions such as assessing the advantages of a particular partner in marriage, or whether a member of the household should go on temporary migration. So in an 'etic' perspective aisiris do act as

'leaders' within communities. But this is due to their attributed moral authority, their role as guardians of beliefs and practices within communities, and their recognised knowledge. In this they differ from political leaders in the urban context, who rely on economic and political power and a less intimate public following. The public face of such urban leaders is particularly important, whether this is constructed in terms of charisma or their economic and political contacts and influence. Aisiris on the other hand, tend to be private, retiring and secretive. It is not even always publicly known that a particular person is an aisiri. They do not have economic or political influence. Although aisiris have an additional form of income from providing advice and guidance, their economic position is not necessarily higher than other members of the community. The type of leadership of aisiris does, however, give them a certain independence from any authority outside the communities. Their leadership is based on beliefs and practices which are shared with other members of the communities, but of which their knowledge is acknowledged to be greater. Aisiris can compete with other aisiris for pre-eminence in a particular area. This competition finds expression in the contested reputations ascribed to aisiris according to their behaviour and results. While as far as I know, there is no open confrontation between aisiris, confrontations in the idiom of bewitchments are common.

The characteristics and personal qualities attributed to aisiris are identified and discussed in the chapter on Knowledge, here particular attention is paid to hierarchy and organization among them. I have used the term aisiri as a single category, however, it must be made clear that there is an intricate hierarchy



and nomenclature differentiating 'those who know'. This hierarchy is based on the perceived extent of their 'knowledge', and the degree to which they are held by other aisiris and members of the communities to possess the appropriate personal qualities.

Close examination of the hierarchy and organization of 'those who know' reveals a detailed concern with the extent and type of knowledge, experience and skills attributed to them. Furthermore, there is a requirement that the ability to recognise, remember, set good examples, and provide good results be consistently demonstrated. These capabilities and achievements are regarded as proof of their knowledge. They are the criteria by which positions in the hierarchy are established.

Levels within the hierarchy are recognised as being distinguishable but not entirely clearcut. Certain activities and qualities are shared by all 'those who know': for example, the reading or looking at coca leaves as a preliminary to giving advice, or to taking further action. Most of the levels can be stages in an ascension to higher ones. An aisiri explained the inter-relations of the various levels in the following way:

The name of each level defines specific activities which include a certain knowledge, including that of how to perform certain rites and techniques. At each level are people who know and deal with particular aspects of everything. Each of those who know reveals and recognises different aspects otherwise not available to others. Each of those who know may have different means for revealing and recognising.

Complementary though specialisations at the various levels may be, they do however share a certain common basis. Those who

know are expected to possess certain attributes and skills which, in order that they may rise in the hierarchy, must be shown to increase, and be acceptable to the spirits. Those who know are not elected by community members but chosen by a dramatic experience with a thunder bolt which then heightens their sensitiveness and abilities to 'remember' and 'recognise'. Experience, associated with a mature age and a prolonged period of working for several years as an assistant with an established aisiri, and of travelling are also requirements which go towards rising in the hierarchy. The 'calling' is attributed to one of the saints or to the Virgin of Sorrows. An aisiri is expected to cement his receptivity to the 'calling' by offering a mass to the saint involved. The offering of a mass will also establish more firmly his position in the hierarchy. This does not provide a public recognition since the reasons for his offering a mass will not be precisely given.

'Those who know' must provide 'good examples' of behaviour in the community and beyond. The higher their standing in the hierarchy the stronger is their power to provide an example of 'good' behaviour. The higher their standing, the more frequent their contact with the spirits (including devils). Not only is this contact more frequent but it is also on increasingly better terms. The rites and offerings are thus done in the right way, and consequently have more chance of being acceptable to the spirits. The pleasure of the spirits is then expressed by providing the aisiri with good results. These results in turn raise his position and power in the hierarchy. If 'mistakes' are made, for example, providing unexpected results and not those desired, due to bewitchment, or the results are not considered to be positive, an

aisiri's position and power can decrease. Similarly, if his example is not 'good', that is, ungenerous and unreliable, rising in the hierarchy may be interrupted.

Aisiris are the highest level of 'those who know', as recognised by aisiris themselves and by other members of the community. They have the power to call on the 'virgins' or 'spirits' (see Chapter Seven). The choice of relevant 'spirit' or 'virgin' depends on the case in point and/or the needs of 'those who want to know'. These spirits are at times made visible, at most times only audible. The aisiri speaks to the spirit and the spirit responds from "the opposite side". The aisiri must also have the necessary skill to deal with the occasional disruptive presence of devils at these and other sessions. Quarrels frequently emerge between spirits and virgins, reenacting quarrels in the community at large, or between those involved in the session. The ability of the aisiri to deal with these and provide solutions, clearly requires skills and knowledge both esoteric and mundane (though these distinctions are not made) and much practical social wisdom generally associated with roles of mediators, arbitration and leadership.

Aisiris are also responsible for the offerings and rites to the apus (mountain spirits). On these occasions aisiris call upon certain people in the community or neighbouring area, and perform offerings and rites at the appropriate times and with the required ingredients. Which people and how many are included depends on the occasion and the what is considered appropriate by the aisiri. On the occasion when a young man was taken ill in the city and returned to his community seeking the 'knowledge' of an aisiri, the latter

arranged for most of the man's kin to be present during the night he performed the appropriate ritual. The time and duration of the ritual and the ingredients used were said to be highly important so as to be acceptable to the appropriate spirits.

Aisiris have a maestro - 'master' (in the sense of teacher/expert) in the area. His rank in the hierarchy needs to be high before he is called to the position of 'master' by a saint or the Virgin of Sorrows as announced by a further thunder bolt. The necessary offerings to the patron saint of aisiris "Tata Bombori" must also be made by the chosen 'master', as must a mass to the saint responsible for his calling. Other aisiris in the area must see that all conditions have been met and that the thunder bolt has indeed increased his knowledge and abilities. This experience with a thunder bolt is the most important aspect in the selection of a 'master'. The aisiri chosen to be the master must accept this higher position; failure to do so would result in his immediate death. And if his behaviour does not correspond with his position, a further thunder bolt can remove his powers and knowledge.

The master of aisiris can converse in trance or in dreams with the apus, the ancestors and with Pachamama. He can cure the "most difficult ones" (cases of illness), and "recognise the most hidden signs", because the "mountains see everything and they tell the master". Knowledge of which aisiris holds the position of master is part of what Aisiris know and others do not, or at best can only deduce. Those people who know or deduce who is the master are said to fear him because of his powers and knowledge.

Aisiris are usually responsible for the offerings preceding the siembra grande one of the sowings of potato, and the offerings

during Carnival. On both occasions offerings are directed towards ensuring a sense of well being of the area as a whole, and of all the cattle in the area. Once a year aisiris are said to meet. The place and time of these meetings is maintained in strict secrecy. I was told that usually these gatherings take place in a secluded spot between communities in which most of the aisiris present live or have relatives. Any revelation as to what precisely is discussed during these gatherings is said to be severely sanctioned. In the past, I was told, this offense was punished with death. The aisiris I spoke to were reluctant to give other than the most general information about such meetings. I would hazard a guess that a great deal relating to the organization of aisiris and of other levels of 'those who know' in the area is discussed during these meetings.

The pagh'o (Que.) (assistant to an aisiri) can also act as a laiqa (Que.) or a ch'amacani (Que.) (who works in the dark) because all perform their activities during the night. Most of their activities revolve around 'looking at the coca leaves' in order to answer questions put to them. Many of their interpretations are made from listening to the recounting of people's dreams. An aspiring aisiri needs to pass through various levels: first as pagh'o, assisting an established aisiri, then jampiri (or other of the specialists known as 'those who cure'), and finally aisiri. When pagh'os work alone they can cure illnesses sent by the spirits as punishment or warning, or as the result of the bewitchment by Llokenchas (those who bewitch - see below). Some pagh'os are said to call themselves jampiris, but are considered charlatans, since they are considered to lack the required

knowledge. Repeated failures weaken their assumed role as "jampiris" and strengthen disbelief in their position as jampiris in the hierarchy. As we have seen, specialist knowledge is spoken of in very general and secretive terms. Not all increase in the possession of knowledge is marked by specific named terms, nor by specifically different practices. There is, however, a division of labour among specialists of different practical skills, some of which may constitute levels in the attainment of higher grades of aisiri.

Not every community has an aisiri. There may be however, two aisiris in one community. In the Canton of Sopachuy, an area of fourteen communities there are said to be six aisiris. Jampiris are more numerous, most communities have at least one. In Horcas, there are two jampiris, one llokencha, and one pagh'o.

First consultations are usually with a pagh'o and on his advice, based on his readings of coca leaves, other specialists are consulted. The llokencha is mostly sought during times of conflict and dispute between individuals and/or households. Quarrels between husbands and wives, or between courting couples are also referred to llokenchas. Within this level is also the laiqa who are said to cause (and sometimes cure) illnesses related to 'magic' whose symptoms are paralysis and fits. The reputation of the llokencha in Horcas extended to other communities which he was frequently asked to visit. One of the jampiris was particularly sought after. His knowledge was said to be greater, and there were plenty of stories going round which corroborated his good results. The other jampiri was consulted occasionally. I was told he did not behave responsibly, and did not set a good example.

The level of jampiris includes several sub-levels, classified according to the areas of knowledge of each. For example, milluris and kh'olliris deal specifically with certain types of cures (they are described in more detail in Chapter Seven). Milluris deal with cures by applying milluras (a mixture of minerals mostly sulphur). The usuris deal mostly with childbirth, and are said to have a deep knowledge of treatment through massage. The network of jampiris is also rather intricate and there are constant referrals from one specialist to another. Not only is a thorough knowledge of herbs and techniques required also in-depth knowledge of the rituals to be performed during the curing sessions. Furthermore, understanding and appropriate interpretation of the sources and repercussions of the malaise are also required.

Aisiris and all other specialists are generally involved in agricultural tasks in common with most other men. Their position as 'those who know' does not in itself alter their economic position within the communities. Although economic differences do occur, quite marked in some cases, I did not come across an aisiri who had more economic power than other members of his community. On the contrary, a few of them were among the economically weaker members of their communities. One pagh'o (the case of "007", discussed in Chapter Two) was forced by marital problems to leave his community and seek employment as an assistant to the Assistant Chief of Police in Sopachuy.

The knowledge and practices of 'those who know' are mostly exchanged for animals (calves, sheep, goats, chickens, cocks, ducks), crops or other goods - in that order of preference. Coca leaves and alcohol are usually also given in return for services and

at the same time are often essential ingredients for the reading of coca leaves and for various rituals. These exchanges take place in the case of dealings with individuals or households, and are not made when aisiris participate on behalf of the community as a whole such as during Carnival and/or rituals for the sowing of potato. Aisiris who abuse their position, for example by demanding large animals (calves and sheep) in exchange for simple sessions, gradually incur mistrust and a reputation for not setting a 'good' example.

The standing of 'leaders', of aisiris in particular, and other specialists in general, stems to a large extent from their privileged access to current information. It is not only their own esoteric knowledge as discussed above and in other chapters, which establishes their reputation, but also their access to wider, everyday social knowledge through their sessions with 'those who wish to know', both in their own communities and others. This combination of types of knowledge enables them to direct ideas, beliefs, actions, and behaviour in a far wider sense than a view of them as merely 'ritual specialists' might suggest.

'Those who know' maintain and create a discursive coherence by being the sources of shared beliefs and practices. They often act as agents of change in the sense that new ideas and practices may be introduced and/or legitimized by them. An aisiri from a community neighbouring Horcas had been to Argentina. Many of the saints he referred to were said to come from Argentina. These saints were later also referred to and invoked by other aisiris in the area. I also heard other aisiris synonymously refer to supay



(Que.) (devil) and 'communist'. This identification of supay with 'communist' was frequently made in the area.

The secrecy which surrounds a large part of their activities and organization further places them in a position of strength as 'leaders'. What they know is not shared by most people in the communities. If it is passed down, it is to the pagh'o working with an aisiri, or to a younger member of the community who has begun to show some of the qualities required. Although this knowledge is not shared by all, it is tapped according to the needs of those who may wish to know at a particular moment. It is tapped and it is respected and advice and decisions are adhered to. Thus a relationship of dependence and obedience is fostered. The behaviour of an aisiri is also taken as a source or example of good behaviour for everyone. The social qualities most respected and admired are precisely those attributed to aisiris: sensitivity, ability to remember and recognise, together with the possession of experience, especially through having travelled.

#### Compadrazgo

The compadrazgo relationship is another form of organization neglected by development discourse. This relationship between campesino households and households in the town leads to the establishment of onward linkage with bureaucrats and organizations in the town.

Compadrazgo has been referred to as an adoptive kin relationship between, usually a godchild and godparents, and between the godparents and the godchild's parents. This relationship, in

the area of Sopachuy, crosses many boundaries: geographic, economic, political and ethnic. Most households in Horcas have a compadre and comadre (godparents of one of their children) in the town. These are frequently landowners, transportistas shopkeepers, owners of chicherias. These groups, on the other hand, rarely choose godparents for their children from the communities in the area.

The importance of compadrazgo for the theme of this chapter is that it is through such ties that outsiders, not necessarily connected with the development process, enter the activities of the communities. From the viewpoint of people in the town this is not only possible but also desirable. During the fiesta many of the compadres from the town are present in the community and take part in ritual exchanges. Furthermore, exchange links between compadres are frequent and encouraged by both partners. Access to town activities and town-based organizations is also made easier for people from the communities through compadrazgo ties.

The Association of Agricultural Producers of Sopachuy had been operating in the town for one year at the time of fieldwork. The main interest in the formation of the Association, I was told by its Treasurer, was the desire to acquire national recognition and obtain Government and other loans more easily. In the past few months membership had been extended to a few campesinos from neighbouring communities. Since several development institutions operate in the area and deal mostly with campesinos, the Association thought it advisable to include campesinos in the organization so that they too might be eligible for funding from such institutions. Several of the campesinos who joined the Association

have fields in fairly close proximity to the town and were compadres of some town members of the Association.

An important link between compadres is constituted by exchanges not only of agricultural produce and other goods, but also of information about prices of agricultural goods in the Sucre and elsewhere and about local and national political activities. Campesinos also provide information concerning current events in their particular communities, and current relations (including disputes) between particular households.

The compadrazgo relationship can provide the links through which certain resources are tapped. They provide links which campesinos can utilize in dealings within the town for which support from town people may be required. This may particularly be the case in dealings with the police and/or other authorities in the town, with whom town people have are more able to deal due to their common use of Spanish, and more detailed knowledge of legal and political relations in town and city. The predominant discourse in cities and towns operates to a large extent on assumptions of how the legal system operates (in terms of legal knowledge and the importance terms of political and other forms of clientele in the legal process); as well as on more abstract notions of 'justice' and 'morality'. Town people clearly have greater access to this political legal discourse than campesinos.

#### Interpretations of the "sindicato"

A further source of links between campesinos and the outside, extending not only to other communities and the town, but

also to Sucre and other parts of the country is the sindicato campesino.

As we have seen in Chapter One, sindicalismo among campesinos became officially recognised and legitimised after the 1952 Revolution, and played an important role in the distribution of land following the Land Reform of 1953. This role, however, was more effective in some areas like Cochabamba and La Paz than in others, such as Chuquisaca. Nonetheless in most areas rural social relations changed markedly as a result. Prior to the Land Reform, the actors were Indians, kuracas (traditional leaders), patron (landowner), and the corregidor (Government authority). Following the Land Reform these were replaced by campesinos, dirigente (leader of the sindicato within each community), school teacher, and authorities based in the nearby town (area School Director), the subcentral (Canton representative of the Sindicato Campesino), and Government representatives.

Discussion of sindicato organization in what follows is based on interpretations by different local groups. While sindicato is the common term frequently used by these groups, it is necessary to examine what is intended or understood by the term by each type of organization. Each community in the Sopachuy area currently has a sindicato. How these are actually perceived to function particularly the sindicato of Horcas, is examined and compared with their intended function in the view of development workers.

The ideal function of sindicatos is presented in a leaflet produced by one development institution intended for distribution among campesinos, particularly those participating in courses and

projects. Members of each sindicato are elected by the community members through a 'democratic' election. The subcentral (Canton representative of the sindicatos campesinos) should also be democratically elected by campesinos from all the communities in the Canton. This process of election, i.e. "from the bottom upwards", should be followed for every level within the Confederacion Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB) - national union of campesino workers. The sindicatos in each community and in all its national levels should be created "freely", "so as to defend the rights, improve the living conditions and administer each community". It is to be organized by and for campesinos. Each community should freely organize its own sindicato. "Only when a community realizes the importance of the sindicato does the community become organized". "When organized, solutions to economic, health, education and commercialization problems, can be found." The sindicatos should function both independently and as a united body. The sindicato is 'democratic' because "everyone has a right to participate, to give an opinion, and a right to elect dirigentes". "Everyone is responsible for the sindicato (dirigentes together with the bases grassroots)". "Democracy is practised in the election of dirigentes and in the control of meetings". There is only one sindicato because "it is the only organization which represents each community"; nationally, there is only one sindicato for all campesinos. Other organizations within the community can function, such as the cooperative, but in harmony with the sindicato. The sindicato has authority for all the community. The sindicato has solidarity with other sindicatos in other communities. The sindicato campesino has solidarity with the Central Obrera

Boliviana COB (National Union of Workers). It works independently (for example, of political parties, private sector enterprise, Government and so on, who are assumed to be against the interests of the sindicato campesino and the COB. Working for campesinos it seeks solutions for campesinos but in alliance with other workers.

Development workers in general recognise the existence of the sindicato campesino within each community. Visits to communities are usually organized through the dirigente and the promotor. In the case of Project A (see below), the sindicato organization is explicitly mentioned in its aims, namely to strengthen the sindicato organization within each community. In this Project courses for promotores include many of the 'ideal' interpretations of sindicalismo given above.

The principles of Project A relating to 'organization' and as stated in the internal literature and passed on in meetings with campesinos are as follows:

- collective work is a necessary requisite for communities which wish to acquire the benefits of the Project;
  - technical assistance must be integrated into the sindicato each Community in the Project.
- Furthermore, control of the Project in each Community must be in the hands of the sindicato.

The objective of the Project relating to organization is

- to strengthen the organization of the Community.

Policies of the Project relating to organization are:

- to approach the social and economic structure in a more effective way, this work should be done through the 'subcentrales'.
- to seek to benefit the whole community and not only those participating in the Project;
- to execute the Project through the sindicatos of each community and through coordination and with technical assistance provided by the institution. (Technical assistance was provided during courses for promotores and during sowing and during the application of insecticides.)
- to seek to achieve a multiplying effect through the sindicato organization and the storage centres;
- to reach the grassroots through radio broadcasts, publications and fieldwork.

In this way in courses and community meetings, 'organization' was presented in terms of the ideal attributes of sindicatos in terms of 'democracy', 'unity', 'solidarity', 'freedom', and 'independence'. Sindicatos are the means through

which the strength of campesinos can be achieved. For this strength to be demonstrated, articulated and the unity within the community solidified, agricultural work organized collectively is required. "Those members of the community who are not united, only seek their personal selfish and individualist interests". "Good organization", i.e. sindicato organization is the way to deal effectively against the exploitation of landowners and transportistas.

The following is a paraphrased translation of a talk given by development worker during a course for promotores:

With good organization production is also improved and hence the economic situation of the community. Production and organization go together, the organization of the community should be based on production. The economic organization will have repercussions on the social and political aspects of the community. You have to wake up, become stronger through good organization and improve your economy. The "sindicato" is not only the dirigente, as is often assumed by campesinos. Every member of the sindicato must have a constant dialogue with the community members. In that way you become organized and area position to demand your rights. It is the role of the sindicato members to 'conscientize' their community members so that all may improve socially and economically. To start to improve economically you have the seeds from the Project. By working united as a community with the sindicato and through collective work you will improve socially and economically.

It must be made clear that the style and content of the talk are similar to that of fellow development workers working on this Project. However, a distinction needs to be made between professional and non-professional staff working on the Project. Non-professional staff gather their material for these courses from literature relating to the Project (reports, evaluation reports, and so on), and from courses and discussions within the institution for



all staff members. They also draw on the general assumptions of this group in relation to their work, and to campesinos generally, although these are not always openly stated. Non-professional staff are in most frequent contact with campesinos and particularly with promotores working on the Project. When questioned on the aims and methods of the project, this groups shows less commitment to the underlying principles of the Project. A high number of them are more deeply concerned with maintaining a job and surviving within a national economic crisis than with the implications and repercussions of their work among the campesinos

Professional staff on the other hand , although they have less contact with the communities, tend to have a deeper commitment to the intentions, aims, policies and methodology of the Project. policies and methodology in the Project. Their analysis often extends to campesinos not only of the area where the institution operates, but also to campesinos in other parts of the Eastern regions of Bolivia, and to those recently settled in Western regions. Their analysis identifies campesinos, in most regions, as generally alienated from the nations' economic and political spheres. Implicit in many of their projects is the intention to direct campesinos towards a greater participation in the mainstream of national political and economic life. Their commitment and motivation to their work within institutions is more clearly expressed. Often this commitment is articulated in terms of wider assumptions and ideologies concerning social change.

With these intentions and ideas in mind, Project A seeks to strengthen the sindicato organization within each community. If the sindicato organization does not exist within a community, the

Project literature states that it aims to strengthen any form of organization used within the community. However, this aim was not relevant in any of the communities in the area of Sopachuy since every community did have a "sindicato".

Within Project A the question of 'leaders' was implicitly answered. Campesinos are perceived as having a "weak organization", and to "lack leaders". Thus the need, as perceived by development workers, to encourage and strengthen grassroot participation in the sindicatos, and the "effective" functioning of these within each community is essential. Part of campesinos' perceived weakness in terms of organization and leadership is related to their perceived "ignorance" about sindicatos.

The dirigentes in the area of Sopachuy often say they would gladly give up their positions. Being a dirigente, I was told, meant losing a great deal of time travelling to the town and/or city, seeing officials and other members of the Sindicato at the levels of Canton, Province or Department, and attending meetings. Time is also spent rounding up people to attend meetings in the community or in town. Some dirigentes complain of the time consuming task and the dedication which is required, while at the same time other members in the community do not appreciate what it involves. On the contrary most people in the community mistrust the dirigente. It is often considered to be a thankless job which involves neglecting work in the fields, getting behind with these, and then having to work doubly hard. Attendance at meetings in the town and city is seen as an obligation following "orders" received to attend these. Failure to attend can result in heavy fines.

Most dirigentes see their duties as: attending these meetings outside their communities, calling and directing meetings within their communities; dealing with: the teacher, the area school director, development workers, political party representatives, other members of the sindicato from the Canton, Province and/or Department, and officials generally. Some told me that the qualities required of a dirigente are the ability to remember and speak well in public. Others added that knowledge of Spanish is necessary, and to be able to read and write in Spanish is desirable.

Some people told me that in addition to these qualities, a dirigente should be vivo y bandido (crafty). It was later explained to me that this is important since dirigentes need to have their wits about them because they deal mostly with officials and outsiders generally. Outsiders are often experienced as untrustworthy and crafty and it is thought to require someone who has similar skills to be able to deal effectively with them. But ironically, since many dirigentes are considered to be bandidos, they are not fully trusted within the community. Mismanagement and disappearance of seeds, at the start of Project A, was later traced to the subcentral of the Canton and to a couple of dirigentes in the area.

A large proportion of the contacts of dirigentes with outsiders is conducted in the idiom of giving and receiving "orders". These can be from Government officials, town authorities, police authorities, officials related to rural education, the school director of the area, the teacher, the priest, health workers, and members of the sindicato from the Canton, Province and city. These orders are directed to the dirigente, either in writing or verbally,

and in Spanish. The immediate response is mostly in terms of acceptance of the orders; later, depending on what is at issue, there may be room for different or partial fulfilment of what is ordered, or complete avoidance. An example of a communication from the subcentral (based in Sopachuy) to the dirigente of Horcas is the following. The dirigente received a note from the subcentral "ordering" the dirigente to inform all the men in Horcas to gather in the town the next day; from there together with other men from neighbouring communities, they would disperse to various points on the trunk road to Sucre and other minor roads in the area for the 'bloqueos' (road blockages; further elaborated on in Chapter Eight). The note ended with the warning of a fine of 15 days compulsory work (without pay) for the dirigente, 10 days for others, on a road improvement scheme in the area. The dirigente was confused as to the purpose of the bloqueos. The confusion as to the reason for the bloqueos extended to other men in Horcas who went to the meeting in Sopachuy the following day. The bloqueos had been organized in different parts of the country to put pressure on the Government to accept a recent demand made by the CSUTCB (the sindicato campesino at the national level) for fair prices for agricultural produce of campesinos, removal of the transportistas and rescatiris in the commercialization of their produce, and their replacement by CORACA (Agricultural Corporation of Campesinos). This body, intended to be managed and run by campesinos, would be responsible for the buying, transporting and selling the produce of campesinos.

Most people in Horcas referred to the dirigente as the "sindicato", and the next in the sindicato hierarchy (see chapter on History), was referred to as the sullk'a (Que.) (younger). The

latter was seen as the dirigente's assistant in helping with calling meetings and general activities described above. During the absence of the dirigente the sullk'a deputised. Most people in communities and the town refer as I myself have done here to the Canton representative of the sindicato campesino based in Sopachuy as the 'subcentral'.

#### People in Horcas and their Sindicato

Meetings in communities in the area take place most Sunday afternoons. People gradually gather outside the local school. A game of football usually precedes meetings. Women gather in groups and chat. During the time I was there the dirigente would ask me (just before the meeting) if there was anything I wished to discuss at the meeting. Similar questions are also put to the teacher. Local officials from the town, health workers from the town hospital, the priest, development workers, the subcentral, mostly visit communities on Sundays. During the national elections, several politicians visited the town for their campaigns and visited some of the communities, again mostly on Sundays.

Meetings vary in atmosphere and format depending on who and what the 'visitor' is. The higher the perceived status, the more rigid the proceedings in the meeting. When there are visitors the dirigente hardly speaks and the direction of the meeting is not in his hands. He sits next to the visitor(s) and is often delegated to implement "decisions" taken. While I was there these meetings were few and far between (even though it was the year of the national elections).

The most frequent format for meetings consists of a combination of formality and informality. The dirigente and his sullk'a take the register of those present. The dirigente then introduces the visitor (if an introduction is required) and explains the reason(s) for his visit. The visitor then presents the issue to be discussed, or presents the information he/she wishes to give. Permission to speak at the meetings is made by the words pido la palabra (permission to speak). People address one another with the term compañero(a). Meetings are conducted in Quechua. At all the meetings I attended all the visitors spoke Quechua. When voting was required it was done by raising of hands. The most frequent speakers at these meetings during my fieldwork were development workers and the local teacher. The former discussed issues related to projects they are conducting in the area. These development workers are mostly from two private institutions operating in the area. Development workers from the Government institutions came only once. The teacher frequently spoke of absenteeism among children in the school, the state of the school building and her living quarters which she wanted repaired. She also organized the visit from the area school director who in turn visited Horcas on the following Sunday. Visits from staff members of the town hospital were also frequent - vaccinations for children, talks by nurses on hygiene, pre- and post- natal care, and general encouragement to attend the hospital during sickness, and especially for childbirth. On these occasions some members of Horcas and neighbouring communities who felt ill, mostly those suffering from chronic diseases came to talk to hospital staff.

The meetings take place in the classroom of the school. Those attending the meeting from Horcas are mostly heads of households. In his absence, his wife represents him, and failing her his eldest son. Repeated absenteeism by a particular household was threatened with fines. During my presence there were approximately four to five households (from the higher zones of Horcas) whose members hardly ever attended meetings. Although threats were made of sanctions for continued absenteeism they were not to my knowledge enforced. The teacher repeatedly urged the dirigente to enforce them.

During my fieldwork every meeting, even those without the presence of visitors, dealt with issues connected with past or expected visitors. During the time I was there, there were four Sundays when no meeting took place. These were either due to intensive agricultural activity, or because it was felt (by the dirigente) that no meeting was required. Internal matters concerning members of Horcas or problems with landowners or people in the town generally were not discussed in the meetings I attended in Horcas or any other of communities I visited. On one occasion (when no visitors were present), and issues relating to Project A were being discussed, an old widow complained of the bad work of the man ploughing her field. He immediately replied accusing her of being mean and giving him little food while working on her field. He called her a mean old woman, at which everyone one laughed, and the atmosphere of the meeting changed immediately. The old woman was furious and shouted her accusations as loudly as she could. This too was met with laughter, which was encouraged by the man mimicking her. Finally, the dirigente intervened saying this was not

the place to discuss such things. It is significant to note that when outsiders were absent, the dirigente was responsible for both content and structure of meetings. When visitors were present his role was mostly concerned with the structure of the meeting rather than content.

Relations between the sindicato in Horcas and the representative of the sindicato campesino in the town (the subcentral) tended to be vertical, in the sense that "orders" were sent by the subcentral to the dirigentes of the communities. During the days preceding the national elections rumours concerning the subcentral were rife. These stemmed in part from a landowner in Sopachuy who wished to remove the present subcentral from his post. The general atmosphere of probable changes in posts in the town gave rise to constant criticism. Rumours of corruption of the subcentral only appeared to confirm what many people in Horcas said they had known for several months. They told me they had previously been afraid to talk about this freely in the town or to city members of the sindicato campesino. Now these rumours had come to the surface everywhere, and the forthcoming elections would make the change of the current subcentral more than likely. The dirigentes from Horcas and a neighbouring community were encouraged by two development workers to go to Sucre to make a formal complaint regarding the current subcentral. They returned with enthusiasm and caution. The Secretary General of the sindicato campesino in Sucre noted their complaint and "promised" the replacement would be elected from one the communities of the Canton of Sopachuy. "A campesino would be chosen because he would know and have more at heart the interests and needs of the campesinos in the area". Up



until now people from the town had filled the post. A meeting would be convened in the near future for the election of the new subcentral. This proposed meeting did not take place. The subcentral, appointed after the national elections, is from the town, and a member of the MNR political party which came to power following the said elections. The Secretary General in Sucre was also changed.

Opinions in Horcas concerning the subcentral suggested his authority was absolute, with the power to change "sindicatos" (the dirigente or other members). This, I was told had happened in the last few months in a neighbouring community. The subcentral was talked about in terms similar to other authorities in the town. He too has the power to enforce heavy fines. Some people told me, it was often safer to do as he said, even though it is known he does not always act in the campesinos' interests, despite his claims to do so. The same people also told me he, at times, acts well for c campesinos, getting landowners to pay higher wages, and helping indisputes with landowners. When in town it is good to visit him in his home, or in a chicheria. Hours are spent with him drinking chicha when "we all get drunk together".

As with other authorities in the town, there is ambivalence of feelings and opinions towards the subcentral. Fear and mistrust were prominent while at the same time he was frequently visited and received well (like most visitors) when he visited communities. One of the promotores told me it was necessary to keep good relations both with the existing subcentral, despite the rumours, and with the man proposed by some landowners in town for the post. "Taking sides might prove dangerous later on".

During the national elections the subcentral played an active role in proselytising the MNR political party of which he was a member. In Horcas he sent a note "ordering" all adult campesinos to register for the elections. The note included warnings for failure to register. A further penalty included a three month ban on the use of any public service for those adults who could not present the registration card as proof of having voted. For registration however, some form of identification had to be presented (identity card, birth or marriage certificate, military service booklet). According to the priest in Sopachuy, about 70 per cent of the women in the communities did not have such documents, and among the men, about 50 per cent. Four days prior to the day of the national elections a further note from the subcentral ordered all adult men to attend a meeting in Sopachuy. The Secretary General from Sucre was to be present and would speak to all campesinos in the area. At the meeting he spoke in Quechua and addressed several topics: the importance of land, the need for proper documentation of ownership of their fields, the need for a strong and united sindicato in each community, the need for weekly meetings in communities together with monthly assemblies between Communities to discuss issues relating to sindicatos and their functioning. Punishments should be given to those who failed to attend. He compared policies between some "right" and "left" wing parties, without explicitly suggesting one or another, but making the desired choice quite obvious. The subcentral's speech, which followed, referred to his achievements on behalf of campesinos during his term in office. He made reference to the "unfounded" rumours some people in the town and "development workers" were

spreading. The former were "exploiters" of campesinos and the latter were "communists", whereas he attempted to safeguard campesinos' interests. He repeatedly denied charges of corruption (the taking of seeds and foodstuffs), and of deliberately telling campesinos not to participate in development projects.

For a large proportion of people in Horcas, the sindicato was the dirigente and his sullk'a. Other members of the sindicato were not active apart from the representative for 'education' who was at times called upon by the teacher to urge certain households to send their children to school. Most sindicatos in the area also were perceived in this manner. The younger men often spoke of the absence of a "real" sindicato as outlined in the leaflets distributed by development workers, and as proposed in courses for promotores. When further questioned as to what a "real" sindicato might be they referred to the need to be "united", "strong", "democratic", and to have "solidarity with other workers".

#### New Forms of Organization

Most development workers in the area both implicitly and explicitly intend promotores to act as catalysts and as "multipliers" of the ideas and techniques presented to them in their courses. Promotores are projected as 'leaders' in the area and in their communities, as they are sometimes told by development workers. It is their role to "get people to wake up and to conscientise them" on the basis of what they have "learned" during the courses for promotores, and during their training in agricultural technical skills. It is the intention of development

projects that promotores, with more 'knowledge', will encourage their communities to adopt new techniques (usage of particular seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, crop rotation in fields, irrigation, and so on), and make people in their communities "more aware" of their situation within the area and the country as a whole (in economic and political terms). In this sense they are encouraged to become leaders, since they are considered more 'knowledgeable' in what the development institutions consider appropriate and necessary knowledge to be. As promotores, following their training, they are expected, by most development workers, to become more "aware", "conscious of the reality of campesinos". This awareness in turn, it is expected, and to an extent assumed, will lead promotores initially and then other campesinos, to become 'organized', 'united', and move towards 'liberation'. However, their position as potential leaders has given rise to conflict in several communities. The most direct conflict is between dirigentes and promotores. This conflict often extends to other members of the community resulting in divisions within them. In one community the prominence and influence of the promotor became such that his role within the weekly meetings became more dominant. The dirigente reacted by failing to attend the weekly meetings, and advising the subcentral of the situation. The latter who had strong disagreements with some development workers concerning the disappearance of seeds and fertilizers in the Project, forbade many campesinos in that and other communities to attend meetings with development workers. Less prominent conflict sometimes emerges between the promotor and older members of the community on the teaching of certain agricultural techniques. Promotores often

complained of the mocking and ridiculing they had to face when attempting to impart the 'knowledge' they had gained during the courses for promotores.

Promotores are generally encouraged to become "organized" and to form a group amongst themselves. This particularly relates to promotores working on Project A which operates in a large geographical area. Promotores zonales (area promotores) spend several months together attending courses in Sucre. Later they also spend time (four to five days) together on courses in the various towns around the area which the Project covers. They are encouraged to form a cohesive group and exchange experiences with one another.

Although promotores do not in fact form a cohesive group as encouraged by development workers, and despite the conflicts which their role as potential leaders sometimes causes, they do share certain characteristics which enable them to become prominent in the area. They possess attributes which at certain times certain people need or consider important as means to particular ends. From the point of view of most development workers, the priest, hospital staff, promotores or potential promotores(as) (i.e. young men and women), have a knowledge of spoken Spanish and basic skills in reading and writing Spanish. This basis is considered advantageous for imparting to them terms, ideas, beliefs, practices, and indirectly assumptions, of what they (with the obvious differences between them), consider necessary and desirable to reach their aims of 'improvement', 'development', and so on. It is further assumed that these promotores will adopt these assumptions and beliefs at least to some satisfactory degree and be able to spread these beliefs and practices among larger groups.

From the point of view of most people in the communities and some people in the town, promotores can be sources of certain desirable goods, such as seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, equipment and cash. Since promotores often work for more than one institution or the priest they have multiple channels of access. Furthermore, since promotores, especially Promotores zonales travel a great deal between their communities and neighbouring communities, to and from the town and neighbouring towns, and the city, they have become important sources of information, and are useful in dealing with authorities in the town and city. They have more knowledge than most campesinos of the language, terminology and procedures, used by officials and so are more adept in dealing with officials. Similarly, promotores have more local understanding, knowledge and linguistic ability than most development workers so are generally more adept at dealing with people in their own communities than most development workers.

It is what I have called their amphibious characteristics which give them prominence in the area and which places them in a new form of 'leadership'. Some are more adept than others in using their amphibious qualities to raise their standing in the Communities and in the town. The most adept are of course in most demand from the different development institutions, and as we have seen may work for up to three 'projects' at a time. Their adeptness is also manifest in being able to persuade each institution/priest/hospital that it is indeed their ideas, terms and practices that are being imparted in their communities and beyond.

### Discourses of Organization

The term 'organization' is currently a key word among several sectors in Bolivia. It is adopted by many development institutions and included as an important element of their projects. Political parties, the Church and other groups also include it in their analyses. In Sopachuy, it forms an important part of the discourse of development workers. The priest and the subcentral often include in their speeches/sermons. Some campesinos and particularly promotores also use the term when talking, particularly, to people in town and cities.

The term is used as if the meaning were homogeneously shared, however, as shown it is polysemic. Its meaning in fact can be said to be moulded according to the shape required by the speaker, and according to his/her ideas, ideology and general assumptions. To speak of 'organization' as a mechanism to 'unite' communities, increase their power and self-sufficiency in political and economic terms regionally and nationally does not coincide with 'organization' as merely one more channel for dealing with 'the other'. The idiom in the latter is mostly in terms of receiving and coping with "orders". The idiom of the former is in terms of 'democracy', 'solidarity', and 'independence'. Furthermore, to speak of 'organization' as a 'united' Christian community in which 'self-sacrifice' for the good of whole is presented as an ideal to be constantly sought and mutually encouraged does not coincide with 'organization' in terms of cost-effectiveness and efficient management to benefit the more "awake" of the communities.

Not only do the ideas, ideologies and assumptions conflict but also the internal relations of various forms of organization. Although rivalries and competitiveness between aisiris do exist, complementarity characterises their 'internal' relations. Different kinds of knowledge, with different abilities to recognise different signs, utilizing different means to achieve the desired results are portrayed, by aisiris as complementary rather than conflictive. Referrals to one another are frequent, and referrals, on occasions, extend to advice to visit the local town hospital. The hierarchies among aisiris are based on ontological knowledge. What they know, how and why is, in a sense, part of what they are. Furthermore, the discourse of their knowledge is secret and part of the complementarity between them. They may impart knowledge to a likely candidate, but the public inculcation of their knowledge is never sought nor given.

Hierarchies among development workers are also closely related to their 'knowledge'. Those trained at universities or colleges for further education are demarcated by themselves and by others with less prestigious (as perceived in institutions) forms of training. Although potentially there may be complementarity between them, rivalry is more characteristic. For example, there is frequent disagreement as to the appropriate style of conducting work, whether this should be more 'systematic' with more attention to written reports and analyses, or whether based more on spontaneity, intuition and common sense. Differences in terms of ideas, ideologies are less problematic than differences in general assumptions concerning the work of the institution, the consequences of their actions and the 'reality' of campesinos. These



differences in turn affect the presentation and discussion of 'organization' in the projects. Notions of 'organization' are discussed within the institutions in courses for staff and in general meetings about projects. What I am generally calling non-professional staff tend to narrow the meaning of such notions when they in turn discuss them with promotores and other campesinos. The ideological implications of focussing on a particular form of organization or another are usually not followed by them. They do not question these forms of organization (such as sindicatos and cooperatives) in the light of the experience of campesinos. Rather they present an ideal form (of whichever form) of organization. Promotores in turn narrow the meaning of the messages received. In meetings with campesinos they concentrate more on attempting to overcome suspicion and mocking from other campesinos, than on relaying the full message they had received during their training course. Terms such as 'organization', 'united', 'democratic', 'efficient', 'Christian' are echoed without necessarily anticipating any of their likely implications, and more importantly without adopting any of the assumptions implicit in these terms and ideas, or as intended by the institution.

The 'messages' are transmitted in a variety of ways. As noted earlier, promotores are given regular courses in towns or in Sucre. They in turn are expected to adopt, transmit and disseminate these 'messages'. The occasions for this are mostly during weekly meetings and during practical sessions (i.e. during particular agricultural tasks), and ideally during everyday contact with fellow community members. 'Messages' also transmitted during the visits of

development workers to communities, usually during their weekly Sunday meetings.

Other sources of 'messages' include the Quechua language radio broadcasts of one development institution. However, during my time of fieldwork, very few people in Horcas or other communities listened to the radio due to the astronomical rise in the prices of batteries. Short pamphlets were often distributed in communities and to promotores. While the latter can read these in Spanish, most other campesinos are unable to do so. The next chapter will consider further how these 'messages' are not so much communicated but rather narrowed, at best, or at worst miscommunicated.

Other groups in the area pay less attention to the preparation of their 'messages'. The subcentral for example often conveys these in the idiom of "orders". Similarly, the priest frequently conveys his messages through sermons and during the courses he gives to Catechist leaders. In each of these the idiom in which the messages are framed frequently relates to sources of power - whether political, economic, or religious. In the case of development workers, justification and legitimization is argued in terms of knowledge.

The source of the knowledge of development workers is mostly public. There is a public recognition of their position within the hierarchy of the institution and their role within it. Their knowledge, if they are to be influential within the hierarchy of the institution, needs to be public. Secrecy is not required nor is it considered advantageous when related to knowledge; it is however, sometimes resorted to when dealing with rivalries and confrontations between staff within and between institutions.

Rivalries and confrontations between aisiris on the other hand tend to be open to the interpretations and knowledge of members of communities. The effectiveness of a counterbewitchment will be known not only by aisiris but by several members of their communities.

Notions of organization and the way they are propounded and discussed are clearly related to 'knowledge'. In this chapter the knowledge has been related to the discourse of 'organization' as expressed in the area of fieldwork. The following chapter pursues further this notion of knowledge as a key element in the discourse of development. It is through the acquisition of the 'right' knowledge that the intended 'change' can be reached.

## Chapter Seven

### KNOWLEDGE

Development projects explicitly, and sometimes implicitly, promote what is considered good knowledge as a means of arriving at the stated aims of coping with 'problems'. Circuitously, how these problems are identified and which solutions are sought often hinges on assumptions about 'knowledge'. The distinction between knowledge and 'ignorance' is often made by development workers - although what may be considered as ignorant behaviour or ideas on the part of those the project is aimed at is not consistent throughout all development groups. Similarly, that which is taken to be knowledge by the people in the community of Horcas and neighbouring communities depends upon different world-views, these also determining whose word is knowledgeable.

This chapter examines the background to the identification both of notions of knowledge and of the contexts, times and people with whom these are stressed or suppressed. The actions and consequences stemming from such stress or suppression are also considered. In a scene of several development projects operating in the area (five projects from four institutions in addition to the strong presence of the Catholic Church), the communities' ideas and practices related to knowledge are explored by examining the occasions when contact, either formal or informal, takes place with personnel from these institutions. Among the different contexts of

knowledge there are what can be called 'experts' who play an important role within and between contexts. The justifications and legitimation of their expertise are explored.

The first section deals with world views in Horcas and its neighbouring communities in order to gain some understanding of what the campesinos consider as knowledge. Of great significance here are the practices and beliefs related to aisiris. This category, which as already seen encompasses many areas of social, political and economic life, is closely identified by the people in Horcas with knowledge.

#### World Views Relating to 'Knowledge'

As has previously been discussed, an important conception in Horcas and its surrounding areas is that of Pachamama. This 'mother earth' may refer to time, space, the universe, the high, the middle or the low; it is the land or the field which produces crops. Pacha- as a prefix adds the idea of totality. Mama in Quechua means mother. The meaning of Pachamama is as vast as it is varied. Perhaps the most recurrent connotation of Pachamama in the area of Horcas is a significant divinity which personifies a fertile 'nature' which gives and takes life. It is very much linked to the living qualities in humans, animals and plants, and also to life of inanimate structures. The medicinal plants are not simply medicines but are produced by Pachamama. These plants are not only required as medicines but in offerings, rituals and fiestas.

The Pachamama has various aspects or facets. For most of the time she is a producer, she is passive, receptive and generous:

"We can sow her, cultivate her and harvest her according to the seasons."

Pachamama can be identified at different levels, and with different meanings. One such level is that of the household. Each family usually has a protecting spirit of "Wirgin Mama" (the Virgin Mary) or Pachamama. Sometimes both are referred to synonymously. The place for offerings in this case tends to be in the patio of the house. This spirit may also protect neighbouring houses too. Offerings are also made to other spirits like the Machu Uργο (old mountain). This is one of the most prominent mountains visible as one approaches Horcas from Sopachuy. Both Pachamama and Machu Uργο are seen as protective spirits. There are also other spirits related to the home.

A second level, one in which Pachamama is more frequently spoken about is that of plots of land near the house or on other ecological levels. Here again Pachamama is bountiful because she gives life, but she must receive offerings to ensure her fertility or otherwise she may show her anger by not being fertile. Here too she forms part of many other spirits related to fertility. They must all receive the appropriate offerings on the appropriate times and days to ensure multiplication and good harvests. The surrounding mountain spirits are also protectors of crops and animals and at the same time they can be a threat. These spirits are also to be found in large rock formations, on high mountain paths, and in mountain streams. In the community these are referred to by names and are often personified. Among these the Machu Uργο is the most important. Ancestors are at times identified with these. Within the context of the rituals Wirgin Mama or Pachamama is seen as the

closest more protective, and at times more threatening, while the ancestors are further away and can be less threatening. The rituals for each are distinct. Some aisiris can speak the voices of spirits (of the living, the dead, the 'devils', and, at times, of the ancestors - but not the Pachamama, nor God, nor the saints.

Yet a third level is that of Pachamama as all encompassing. She gives life to all that lives. From her stems the nourishment for everything that lives. And, when death comes, everything returns to her. Every part of the earth is Pachamama: "She is benevolent and fecund and our offerings are given for her generosity."

There is a distinction which is not made in Horcas but appears to be implicit in the way Pachamama and other spirits are spoken of. They both have a general manifestation which is all encompassing and yet there are manifestations which may be identified with a particular place, for example a mountain stream as in the case of an ancestor, or a particular plot of land as in the case of Pachamama. Both, in a sense, can be offended as a result of certain actions relating to the particular. For example, by inadequate offerings relating to the sowing of a plot of land, or by having spent the night in a solitary place away from the community without observing the necessary precautions. A frequent precaution is having coca leaves with one on long journeys and, if possible, at every moment.

Pachamama is not singled out but paired off with other divinities such as mountain-top spirits. All are sources of power, protection and fertility as well as misfortune, illness and bad

weather. Pachamama is sometimes described as the wife of mountains, as mother, and a source of fertility.

Supay (Que.) devil can be responsible for good and bad actions. He can be a source of fertility, creativity, and of danger and illness. Devils can operate in the underworld and on mountain peaks together with other dangerous places in solitary mountain paths. Pachamama's source of abundance and fertility can be altered and the latter is manifest in damaged crops and generally poor harvests. There is constantly a concern with uncertainty, particularly in relation to agricultural activities and developments.

The above beliefs and actions related to Pachamama and other spirits are inseparable from other cyclical activities. Offerings to Pachamama are made at the start of the agricultural cycle, when fallow land is brought under cultivation, and again at sowing time. At harvest time thank offerings are made. Pachamama is asked to make the fields give fruit and to prevent disease in crops. Offerings are also made, depending on the time and kind of year, to bring rain or to stop rain as the case may be. For example, during the days between Virgen de Guadalupe (8th September) and Virgen del Rosario (7th October) most people are extremely busy in Horcas. It is a time when the sowing of maize needs to be done, the preparation for the soil, and the acquisition of seeds. Equally important is the acquisition of the ingredients for the offerings and the rites which are also performed during these days. Many of the heads of households go on short journeys of a few days to neighbouring areas in search of seeds. The previous year's harvest had been poor due



to heavy hailstorms. Rumours in Horcas suggested offerings in the previous year had not been adequate.

Ceremonies are performed on several occasions which are related to the fertility of the cattle. In these, small clay figures of cows and bulls are included. On high spots along mountain paths apachetas (miniature shelters) made of stones are found. The placing of flowers or crops alongside these are also considered offerings to mountain spirits related to sowing and harvests. Certain places along mountain tops, by mountain springs, and mountain peaks are considered 'sacred'. They are also considered to have their own spirit which must be acknowledged by a greeting when passing by, with a prayer or with offerings. They must also be thanked at the appropriate times during and after the agricultural cycles. The appropriate time could also be related to travelling, to the well-being of cattle, to the rains, to exchanges and to various threats from dangerous malignant spirits. These sacred places are personified and referred to by their names.

The knowledge of spirits and their 'desires' or expectations and the appropriate way of dealing with these are closely related to what 'those who know' do know and should know. A large proportion of these beliefs are generally shared. However, precision as to offering and their timing is often sought from aisiris. This knowledge may be channelled as preventive action, in the sense that offerings may be made to avoid misfortune taking place, or they may be made by way of repair in the sense that an event may have taken place and the appropriate action is required to redress conditions.

To deal with such cases aisiris knowledge is called upon. "Because of their knowledge and experience", said an old man, they

understand signs. "They can recognise these and know what to do and how to do it". Aisiris can discover what has happened or may happen and are able, through the appropriate ritual to prevent or cure. Not only can their knowledge and experience allow them to interpret and take the 'appropriate' action in the communication and relations between campesinos and their environment, but also in the communication and relations between and among campesinos.

Knowledge is seen as a way of reducing uncertainty, a theme introduced in earlier chapters. The knowledge attributed to aisiris can deal with these uncertainties through a more intimate relation and understanding of Pachamama. Uncertainties of nature require precautions to be taken in agricultural activities. There are no established, simple procedures. Simultaneously various solutions have to be sought, each intended towards ensuring a good result. In agricultural activities these may relate to crop rotation, to rest of the soil, to use of different types of seeds in one plot or on different ecological levels, to adjusting sowing dates. These activities may go hand in hand with the appropriate offering to the appropriate spirit.

This trying out of different possibilities is also reflected in social relations. Exchange relations are wide and flexible; contacts with personnel from different development institutions are maintained; compadrazgo ties cut across geographical and ethnic boundaries; links with landlords and rescatiris (transporters) are maintained despite apparent exploitation. Performance of offerings to Pachamama or Machu Urco are not opposed to the offering of a mass to Tata Santiago (St. James).

What I wish to make clear is the strong link that is made between what may be called practical activities such as agricultural techniques, animal care with beliefs and practices often classed by 'outsiders' as superstitions. In fact, the distinction between practical and ritual is not made. It is unthinkable to acquire the seeds for sowing and continue with sowing without consulting the aisiri and performing the rites he suggests. The acquisition of seeds is as important as the acquisition of coca leaves (for the aisiri) and the ingredients for the offerings.

This process applies not only to what could be called economic related activities, but to other areas such as 'health', social organisation', 'religion',<sup>2</sup> kinship relations, conflicts, decision-making and so on.

In all the ceremonies and offerings an important aspect is the active and live quality of 'nature'. All its components have their own spirit or soul, some are malignant and others are benign, or both aspects are found in the same sacred place. Large rocks, mountain tops, rivers, springs, high mountain passages, the earth, the sun and moon all participate in this cosmic life. It is not simply that all large rocks or all rivers, to take two examples, form part of this cosmology. They are particular places which have life, a certain name and are immediately identified.

Knowing how to behave in relation to these is also important. Incautious behaviour during a journey, for example, may cause loss of animo as we have seen in the chapter on campesino themes. Children also need the protection from spirits, such as the duende (goblin). Women are careful to tie around their young children's necks amulets containing special herbs and seeds.

To ensure the well being of members of households offerings also are required. Knowing when to make these and with which ingredients is more precisely sought from aisiris

### Aisiris

Aisiris may be considered as specialists in certain aspects of knowledge. Aisiris are known by different names according to the area of knowledge in which they specialise. Yatiris or aisiris acquire their knowledge through signs. In other words, it is a knowledge acquired from knowing the signs. Unanchani means 'to indicate' or 'to signal', and it is linked to unanchatha, which can be translated as 'to know', 'to understand', or 'the knowing of signs'. Unancha (sign) has the root una, which means long lasting or divine. Thus the knowing of signs is related to revelation. The term yatiri includes a non-separation of knowing from ritual. The yatiri on the one hand is the depository of a revealed knowledge and on the other he is the promotor of rituals. Yacha (to know) indicates not an acquired knowledge but a determined one (one already in existence). Yachacuni, a derivative of yacha, means to increase - or multiply, as in sowing seeds.

A further aspect of aisiris knowledge relates to amtana (to remember), its root amu meaning 'source', 'origin', or 'sprouting'. It is important for the aisiri to remember to include offerings for the relevant spirits as required according to the time or circumstances of the ritual. If necessary, symbols representing cattle, the house, the field, the saints, and the Virgin must be included, and, if necessary, all members of the extended family who may live dispersed in various ecological levels and communities.

Libations may be made and the ancestors toasted with an alcoholic drink. In the case of illness, the offerings chosen may make the sick person remember or return to 'his world'. In the latter rituals, aisiris will often say to the sick person that 'he must remember'. There is a ritual for remembering amutatha. Knowing is very much linked to remembering in the aisiris case, but it is also related to curing through the act of remembering.

To a large extent the hierarchy of 'those who know' is based on knowledge. However, it is a kind of knowledge which is not really recognised as such by 'outsiders'. It requires a knowledge of the qualities of the various spirits. Furthermore, it is based on years of experience of a dialogue with such spirits and their responses or lack of responses to the offerings made to them. Each spirit requires certain offerings depending on the time of the year (if related to agricultural activities), or depending on the interpretations of relations between people. Past events in both cases also need to be understood and taken into account.

In this hierarchy the highest position in the area of Horcas was known as the aisiri. The hierarchy of 'those who know' is discussed in more detail in the chapter on Organization and Leadership. It might be worth reminding ourselves that to become an aisiri a man needs to have worked as an assistant pagh'o with an aisiri for many years. More importantly, he cannot become one if he has not had an experience with a thunder-bolt. All aisiris I met told me of such experiences. The first (and in some cases there was only one) was the turning point. In all cases it happened while on a long journey, while walking for days, during which a thunder-bolt struck almost by the side of them, leaving them

in a state of bewildered isolation. One man told me how he lay there for three days. The donkeys on which he carried crops for exchanges had been killed and his companion had disappeared. He then experienced a sensation of not knowing where he was. He continued to walk and found himself in a town he did not recognise and amongst people who seemed to know him and who greeted him, but he could not recognise them nor respond. A 'good' family took care of him and gave him food and shelter for several days. Before this experience he had not taken seriously enough his duties as a 'person who knows'. Afterwards he said he knew and understood more, and his dedication to his being an aisiri became serious. He told me this had happened when he was quite young. Now he was an old man.

#### The Making of an Aisiri

The knowing required to be a aisiri can, in a sense, be related to a notion of a calling. The experiences with thunderbolts legitimise this calling. Although this calling can be attributed to the supernatural, together with his ability to know signs, further qualifications derive from experience and learning with another experienced aisiri.

Most aisiris had had two consecutive experiences with thunderbolts: the first 'killing' and the second 'reviving' through a gradual 'growth'. This growth expands and multiplies with effective offerings and curings. Effectiveness of these offerings and curings strengthens the knowing of a aisiri. On the other hand, if he makes a mistake, he is liable to lose his capacity to be effective and may go down in the hierarchy of aisiris, or he may

remain static in his knowledge and not rise in this hierarchy. In the higher reaches of the aisiri echelons he can converse with the apus (Que.) mountain spirits, achachilas (Que.) ancestors, Pachamama and with all spirits.

A further source of knowledge is travelling. One of the most prominent aisiris in the area claimed that he was able to invoke "saints from Argentina". He had been there after a long journey several years before. On his return people in the area sought his advice with greater frequency than before and he declared his 'vision' had become clearer after his travels.

An aspiring aisiri, jampiri, or pago, I was told, must have a certain sensitivity for everything. He must approach an established aisiri and work with him. The aisiri will not agree immediately for he must be able to ascertain the true sensitivity of the candidate. It takes almost a lifetime to become an aisiri or a jampiri. Aisiris have a more complete knowledge than jampiris. The latter concentrate more on jampis (medicines or cures) for the body and on the ceremonies which go with the jampis. A jampiri may refer someone to an aisiri if he thinks it more appropriate for the latter to deal with that person. Milluris and kh'olliris are also in the group of jampiris but they work more specifically with certain types of cures.

The extent and type of their knowledge determines which one is visited and for what. Visits to jampiris are frequent and the reasons for seeking them extremely varied. From what I could observe, although the distinctions were not made to me, each jampiri in Horcas appeared to have a speciality in the sense that people approached each depending on what the question concerned. For

example, an initial step, as we have seen earlier, consists in asking a question and having the answer provided by the coca leaves. Cleto, a pagh'o a middle-aged man, was most frequently visited for this. His answers through the coca leaves would direct the questioner to a jampiri or sometimes not. The questions and problems are wide-ranging - from the suitability of a prospective companero(a),<sup>2</sup> whether or not to consult a jampiri regarding the health of the questioner or of a member of his/her family, the usefulness of continuing with a search for a lost animal or object, or whether or not to leave for temporary labour to another region, what action to take in relation to a particular dispute, what action to take following a bewitchment, and so on. Depending on the question certain days of the week and times of the day are more appropriate for engaging in the activity as advised by the jampiri.

Lui, a much older man, was sought after for 'curing'. His reputation as a man with a knowledge for curing extended to many neighbouring communities. It was not simply his knowledge of the administering of herbs and ceremonies involved in the curing which made him popular, however. His actions were sometimes preventive, with offerings intended to pacify certain spirits. In some cases he would advise people to go to the hospital in the town. On one occasion a woman came to ask me if I had coca leaves. She needed to find out if her sick husband would live or not, and what should be done. The coca leaves said he would live, but the jampiri said the sick man would need to be taken to the q'aras. He was subsequently treated in the hospital in the town for typhoid and returned to Horcas two weeks later.



Octavio, a llokencha, also an old man, had an extensive reputation in Horcas, in neighbouring communities, and in the town. His place of origin was considered a mystery, as he himself was portrayed as mysterious by the rumours concerning his character and his living alone. He travelled a great deal in the area. People came from afar to seek his advice and knowledge, and very often went with those who sought him to go to their communities. His 'knowledge' included the ability to 'bewitch' someone by request of someone else and the undoing of a spell by another llokencha. These spells can cause a person to become ill or to die. Octavio had the power to know who was thinking or speaking badly of the ill person, and was likely to take action to stop that person from continuing their harm. This is known as llogh'encha (shield from bewitchments). It is also used by aisiris to out-do one another whereby one aisiri does a llogh'encha in order that the other aisiri loses his powers. This is also used in disputes to make one side lose.

A further aspect of Octavio's expertise consisted of his involvement with decisions to marry or not. Whether the prospective companero(a) is suitable or not were questions he was frequently consulted upon. In situations when a prospective partner did not reciprocate the advances or hints of another, Octavio was asked to perform a ceremony (or several) to ensure her/his reciprocation. I was told that many of these had ended in marriage. This can also be done between spouses or between kin when they are not 'getting on'.

Although the seeking of advice, guidance, assistance, enlightenment through aisiris is frequently done by most people in

Horcas, there are other sources of 'knowledge' within communities which unlike the knowledge of aisiris are officially recognised as such.

#### Official Sources of Knowledge

In the town two bodies are recognised and talked of as constituting and disseminating 'official' and 'needed' knowledge in the area: the State schools and the local hospital based in the town which runs a health project in the communities.

#### The School

From the point of view of the State, its programme of rural education is intended to integrate campesinos to the nation by providing education to campesino children in their communities. Although in the area of Sopachuy the large majority of campesinos are Quechua speakers only, teaching in the schools is done in Spanish. It is assumed that to acquire education means to learn to read and write Spanish and acquire a basis of arithmetic. The school curriculum for rural education is almost identical to the school curriculum in urban centres. The school calendar also follows an urban model, despite absenteeism of the children during the busy agricultural periods. Most personnel working as rural teachers are from a city or town background. The aspiration for most rural teachers is to get a position in a town or better still in the city.

The acquisition of officially imparted knowledge (through school education) is seen by townspeople and, to some extent, by

campesinos, as a means to raise socio-economic standards. The more well-established and wealthier families in the town send their children to attend school in the city. Similarly those campesinos who can afford it and have contacts in the town will try and send their children to school in the town. About 55 per cent of the children in primary school in the town were from neighbouring campesinos communities. Many of these children were considered 'backward' and a 'problem' because they held town children back: "they did not understand Spanish... let alone read and write".

Some of the objectives of the teacher in Horcas (which were given by the Rural Education Directorate of the area) were:

- "to achieve the active participation of parents in the educational development of their children;
- to improve the idiosyncrasy of community members;
- to improve, through the formation of the children, the socio-economic situation of the national majority"

As seen in Chapter Two, following the "1952 Revolution", one of the reforms brought in referred to rural education. All fourteen communities in the Canton of Sopachuy apart from one had local schools functioning. Most of those with functioning schools had one teacher apart from one which had two teachers (husband and wife) who shared the teaching between them. In the latter community (larger in terms of population) two teachers were assigned to cover the

need for providing more than the usual two first grades of primary school. In the community in question four grades were provided.

Not all children eligible for school attend. Households in Horcas sent only one child of eligible age, even though they might have had more than one child eligible. The teacher often complained of this during the Sunday meetings. Her exhortations were mostly ignored, when asked for the reason for this. Most people replied in terms of the many tasks which needed to be done within the households and could not be spared. Some households in Horcas, mostly those in the higher zone, categorically refused to send their children to school. When questioned as to why they replied it was pointless to do so. The teacher frequently threatened to sanction such household members with heavy fines, but during my presence this did not take place, nor were those children sent to school. The representative of the sindicato which was responsible for 'education' was ordered, by the teacher, to visit recalcitrant households and put pressure on them so that they may send their children to school.

Many households in the lower zones of Horcas told me they sent their children to school so as to avoid problems with the teacher and the School Director of the area (Director de Nucleo). They are both considered with a degree of fear and as other authorities with the capacity to give "orders" and demand fines. Communications from the School Director to the communities are also made through the dirigente, and through the teacher. He is supposed to visit (as a form of inspection) every community under his jurisdiction at least once a year.

Relations between the teacher and people in communities are ambiguous. On the one hand the teacher is an outlet for selling goods and produce locally. The prices paid for these are mostly half of what is normally paid in the town for the same goods. Teachers in turn sell or exchange goods brought from the city to campesinos. Teachers justified to me the profits they made by their exchange and sale of goods with campesinos on the grounds that their salaries were low and the conditions in which they worked uncomfortable and "primitive". The contact with the teacher by adult campesinos is fairly regular. Teachers can be described as intermediaries between communities and the town and city. Not only are goods interchanged but also information. Teachers often act as advisors when legal or other bureaucratic actions need to be taken in the city. Letters are written by them on behalf of campesinos, and sometimes referrals in the way of contacts in the city.

Rural teachers are therefore sources of 'knowledge' not necessarily because of their official role in communities, but mostly due to their being sources of information and having contacts in cities for activities for which most campesinos lack the appropriate knowledge. Increasingly, my relations with the local teacher in Horcas deteriorated. This was not only due to the fact that she considered my insistence on paying the same prices as in the town for goods bought in Horcas from campesinos (such as eggs, potatoes, etc.) as madness, but also because her power as provider of information and access to contacts in the city diminished with my presence and the presence of development workers who also provided this.

Health

A common view held at the town hospital was that campesinos neglected their health due to ignorance. They were ignorant about the functioning of their body, about nutritional requirements, and about hygiene:

"They only come to the hospital when their 'witch doctors' and their 'superstitions' don't work, and it is already too late."

Hospital staff found it was "irrational behaviour" not to come to hospital when the price of treatment and drugs was so low for campesinos compared to the prices asked in the city for similar treatment and drugs. To ameliorate the "backward" condition of the campesinos with respect to 'health' and 'hygiene' visits were made by hospital staff to communities. On these occasions talks were given to community members present on hygiene, on cooking and household management, and on diet, and the campesinos were encouraged to visit the hospital as soon as possible should they fall sick. Expectant mothers were encouraged to attend ante-natal care and to have their babies at the hospital. The Ministry of Health explained to hospital staff in their training during courses run in the cities that work in the rural areas was important and necessary. Physicians and nurses are required as part of their training to work one year in the rural areas before they are fully qualified in their respective professions. Many hospitals in towns often complain of the difficulty of finding staff willing to stay on in communities beyond their year of rural practice. During their

training they are further informed that campesinos have a "different mode of thought" due to their "cultural differences" and that they seek meanings in concrete experiences and are very concerned with climatic changes. It was admitted, however, that they had learned to do some things very well but their "knowledge was concrete and non-transferable". This is seen as the explanation for the feeling of isolation and abandonment experienced by the campesinos when away from their milieu. They are thought to lack the powers of abstraction of the "industrial world".

Both teachers and hospital staff are influential in the town. On the one hand their opinions, on any subject, are considered to have the backing of their training and education (this was specially applicable to the physicians). On the other hand, because of their 'good' education, they were often chosen to sit on committees and take part in official town activities. Most campesinos regarded the hospital with a large degree of apprehension. Mostly the hospital was visited by people from the town. Those campesinos that visited the hospital were sometimes advised to do so by jampiris. Bone fractures and acute diseases are more frequently treated in the hospital. Physicians are considered as having 'knowledge' by many campesinos, however, this knowledge is concerned mostly with "jampis" (Quechua for things that cure, but in this case they referred to pills) and "injections". Health promotores are not considered in the same light. They are trained with first aid knowhow and given a first aid kit together with aspirins and salt mixtures to be dissolved in boiled water for babies suffering from diarrhoea. These salt mixtures are distributed among families with young babies.

Both teachers and physicians are considered to have knowledge, particularly by people in the town. They are influential both within their official activities and outside these. Their expertise in their subjects is considered unchallengeable by those outside their expertise. Physicians do not recognise the knowledge of jampiris, on the contrary the latter are viewed as a hindrance to campesinos accepting and adopting their notions of disease and their methods for coping with them. To lack the knowledge given by teachers is according to people in the town to be lacking in 'education', i.e. to be ignorant. The idiom for explaining problems between campesinos and town people is often made in terms of 'ignorance' on the part of campesinos.

Further sources of 'knowledge' which are implied to extend beyond conditions and activities related to the present is the priest and development workers. Both have similarities and differences in the content and methods of their work, but at the same time they both share certain assumptions.

#### The Priest

An example of the teachings of the priest are summarised from a course he gave to catechist leaders on the sacrament of Confirmation. After this course catechist leaders are given the task of passing on and spreading what they have learned during the course and disseminating this in their own communities. A catechist leader is expected to lead Sunday meetings (before the meetings of sindicatos) with prayers, singing and readings from the gospel. During these Sunday meetings he is expected to pass on what he has learned from the priest and generally set a good example on the



criteria expected by the priest. On the subject of Confirmation, catechist leaders are expected to prepare those eligible for and wishing to be confirmed. The following is a paraphrased summary of the content of their course.

God is the creator of all, of atoms, material force, and life force. Creation is God's project. He created nature and then He created man in His own image. God's spirit is in man. He has given earth and all its creatures to be used by man, to serve man, while man serves only God. Man is free to choose between good and evil. Man lost eternal life through sin. Sacraments such as baptism and confirmation are supernatural: they are God's actions in this world and in man's life, to strengthen man against the devil's actions. Through confirmation man's Christianity is deepened: it deepens the new life of grace achieved with baptism. Through baptism new life and access to eternal life is achieved. Pagans shall not enter heaven, they lose eternal life through ignorance. Through ignorance many things are lost in this life too.

The catechists are taught that the Incas, because of ignorance, adored the sun and the moon. Through science we now see that there are many suns in the universe. The Incas could not see this. They saw sun as the largest star, but now we know some stars are larger.

For the Catholics a Church is not simply a building, it encompasses all the chosen people. All those baptised are chosen by God. Everyone in all communities are a Church. We show we are a Church through loving one another, by promoting fraternity and communion between communities. to be a chosen people, to be Christian is to love and help one another, and to fight against everything that is not love within us, and against egoism. There is one Church, unity is good, division is the work of the devil. People should be united with no frontiers (political, linguistic or racial). 'Truth' for all mankind is one. Opposition to the Church is all that is sinful, evil and false. If communities knew this they would change. There is too much egoism and individualism in communities. People only think of themselves, and only think of today and not about tomorrow.

The priest based in the town shares certain approaches with other institutions working in the area. Instruction to 'catechist leaders' is given in approximately two courses (one week each) during the course of a year. These men are then expected to act as the representatives of the Church in their communities. People from the communities sometimes attend mass on Sundays in the town. Here the sermons are in Spanish. The communities themselves are visited by the priest at least once a year when he is present for the fiesta of each community and celebrates mass in the local church. These sermons are said in Spanish also, with the difference that the

catechist leader acts as translator. On these latter occasions the priest tries to perform marriage ceremonies and baptisms. The catechist leader in turn should prepare people for these sacraments before hand. Attitudes and ideas about the priest are ambivalent. He is much feared and also welcomed during the fiestas for the celebration of the mass. His economic and ritual power is recognised. His knowledge of and contact with the saints, and the Wirgin Mama (Virgin Mary) are considered part of the latter power.

#### Development Workers

Development workers are addressed by campesinos as bearers of some kind of knowledge. The terms used are profesor (teacher) or ingeniero (engineer). Development workers, government officials address campesinos as compañeros, a term of address used between fellow equals, often used in political speeches addressed to campesinos.

Although there are some basic assumptions shared by development institutions and the priest, there are ideas and actions as presented to campesinos which have variations. For example, the assumption of the distinction between man and nature is implicit in the sermons of the priest during Sunday mass and also in the presentation of courses run by development workers. However, how each explains and approaches this distinction does not always coincide.

Man guided by the Holy Spirit and concerned with life after death may not accord with man taking steps in this life to try and achieve satisfaction on earth as is expressed in Liberation theology

which has influenced thinking in many institutions. Similarly, between institutions the assumption that the campesinos need change is widely held. However, whether this change should be organised through sindicatos and by communal production or through co-operatives and the raising of levels of production for greater participation in a market economy will depend on which institution is transmitting which message.

The assumption of necessary change is strongly related to 'knowledge' since institutions and the priest assume that through the acquisition of the knowledge that they impart the desired change will be achieved.

Implicit in the development projects undertaken in Horcas and in neighbouring communities are assumptions regarding nature. This encourages the notion of a totality of resources to be exploited by man. Man must try to work and manipulate for his own benefit these resources available from nature. For this purpose production processes should include man-made artifacts and greater mechanisation. There is the assumption that the relationship between man and nature is a narrowly economic one in which economic gain can be achieved through higher levels of agricultural production. The preference is towards an externally oriented market economy. There is an assumption here of a notion of growth which leads to change and 'progress'.

Bearing in mind the above assumptions, the knowledge implicitly required is expressed and presented to campesinos in the area through courses for promotores and through visits by development workers to communities. The courses usually last for five days and are given in the town. The programme for the courses

is divided into the following subjects by the development workers: 'agriculture', 'the gathering of data', 'organisation', the political and economic analysis of Bolivia in relation to the campesinos which is categorised as 'politics/ideology'. The courses end with an 'evaluation' session in which the promoters are expected to evaluate the course.

Briefly the contents of the course under agriculture dealt with the use of guano, and chemical fertilisers, soil analysis, the importance of chemical products, the use of insecticides, alternative crops (vegetables), sowing techniques, the preparation of seeds and soils, harvesting, and the storage of crops. The gathering of data (since promoters are in part responsible for the implementation of the project) meant recording the quantities of seeds distributed and crops harvested, and the quantities used, sold and/or stored within the community. Furthermore, the quantities and proportions of chemical fertilisers, guano and so on, had to be gathered and passed on to the development workers, who in turn needed to pass this data on to donors in European countries.

When considering the content of courses it is important to examine the background of projects, their design and their justifications given for the content of the courses. Once again it will be recalled that it is assumed that through the providing of knowledge through the courses the required 'change' will be achieved.

One of the most important projects carried out by a prominent development institution in the area of Horcas is part of a larger project carried out by other sister institutions in other regions of Bolivia. The two main aims of this project relate to

the raising of levels of agricultural production in campesino communities and, through this, to strengthen the sindicato organisation in each community.

These aims are seen as forming part of the solution to the problems of campesino communities. The background to the analysis which brings forth these solutions is twofold. First, it stems from an analysis of the general situation of the campesinos in relation to the political and economic situation of Bolivia. Second, it arises from the professional backgrounds of the project designers working in the development institutions. These professionals (sociologists, anthropologists, economists, agronomists and theologians), depending on their training, bring in justifications and points of analysis which are relevant to their respective professions. Their conclusions are general in the sense they do not apply to a particular region, let alone to a specific community. In the case of the agronomist, for example, 'science' is a source of authority in his presentation of his 'knowledge' which justifies his input in the project design and content. Laboratory tests of soils, seeds, fertilisers (chemical or organic) as given in his university training are considered relevant. Whether these analyses refer to the soils or seeds from a particular area is not considered an issue. Similarly, sociologists and economists draw their authority in their presentation of their 'knowledge' from general theories such as Dependency Theory or Marxism. Within this particular institution (with a strong link with the Catholic Church) Liberation Theology forms part of project design and content.

Regional variations of the project do occur. Each institution has different mechanisms for discussing projects with fieldstaff and for obtaining their material inputs. In the area of Horcas, the majority of fieldstaff are ex-rural teachers who are responsible for the implementation of the project through courses, radio programmes and the distribution of pamphlets. The content of these is discussed between professional fieldstaff and promotores. In these discussions a degree of 'translation' (in a broad sense) takes place. Fieldstaff are given the outline of the contents of the project on the basis of an examination of the position of the campesinos vis-a-vis the general political and economic situation of Bolivia. Fieldstaff and professionals (who are also involved in giving courses and visiting communities) discuss the contents in relation to their own experience gathered from working with campesino communities. A process of translation occurs in the sense that theoretical standpoints are transmitted while at the same time personal interpretations and experiences of what the 'campesino needs and wants' are expressed, and translated into the content of the project.

Divisions and clashes between the two groups often emerge. Professionals feel fieldstaff lack in-depth understanding of the situation of the campesinos and their needs. Their position in the higher echelons of the institution is to a large extent maintained through frequent resort to their 'knowledge'. Fieldstaff consider the 'knowledge' of the professionals as distant and "in the clouds" in relation to what they themselves "know" about the campesinos and their needs. Their justification and, in a sense, power, stems from a "great rapport" with the campesinos with whom they can

converse with greater ease than the professionals. This is accepted by the director of the institution.

In examining the background to a project it is important to remember the relationships between the development institutions in Bolivia and their donor agencies (in the case of one agency in Western European countries). Contact between these is in terms of exchanges of reports and correspondence, visits to one another and seminars. An element of 'translation' of what is considered knowledge is also present at this level. Project proposals need to be made in a way that will fit the donors' criteria for 'good' projects. The language used, the style of presentation and the content of such proposals have to be tailored adequately. This is not to say that the content in these proposals will be different, but simply that it needs to be 'translated'. Similarly, donors see the need to 'understand' the contexts of the projects they are funding. This understanding is necessary for justifications to their respective governments and general public in European countries. It is no longer justifiable to explain 'aid' in terms of a 'transfer of knowledge'. Analyses stemming from studies in Latin America which have given rise to theories such as Dependency, approaches such as 'Popular Education', and ideas related to Liberation Theology cannot be ignored. There is therefore an exchange of knowledge between donors and their counterparts in Bolivia. However, this exchange goes through several different channels which may modify, change, or negate the original message. For example, the viewpoints of the fieldstaff regarding the content of a project are 'translated' into a language used by professionals which they must use in order to reach the standpoint of analyses of



professionals in donor agencies. The latter in turn need to translate these in order to ensure continuation of funds for the projects they wish to sponsor.

I was told that seminars between donors and their counterparts often typify 'miscommunication' and dialogue is considered impossible. Although the use of terms is the same, the interpretation of these is deeply divided. Despite this 'dialogue' does take place, but not necessarily 'communication'. Different conceptions and expressions of knowledge as presented in different contexts and by different groups are now examined.

#### Contrast and Comparison of 'Knowledges'

Within these conceptions of knowledge, language is an important element. Aisiris require an elaborate use of language while performing rituals or voicing voices of spirits. Vivid descriptions and an extensive use of imagery and metaphors are a part of the performance of rituals. By contrast notions and conceptions of knowledge given by development workers make use of more arid metaphors. The strength which comes from the unity of a community is compared to the strong tree which requires all its parts to be in coherence for the good of the whole. As mentioned earlier the metaphor of 'waking up' is frequently used implying that a state of lethargy and dozeiness should be replaced by an alert acquiring of knowledge imparted from the outside, with the added implication that there is no inside knowledge, or if there is it only stimulates neglect and apathy.

Knowledge as transmitted through stories (although not spoken of as having that function) is expressed in accounts of the good or bad behaviour of personalised animals. These stories often include spirits of the dead and the devil in his various disguises. Stories are continually updated in the sense that they include new social relations or new themes. For example, an evil man may be a 'communist'. People going on long journeys, travelling through dangerous sacred places and carrying their radios or cassette recorders were frequent themes. How personified animals dealt with danger in different contexts included situations with devils or dangerous personified animals such as the fox. This latter animal was sometimes synonymous with a particular development worker who was considered to be astute and crafty. Squirrels were also used in analogy to development workers who can jump from subject to subject with great ease. This was particularly related to their ability and dexterity to speak of sindicatos and its role regionally and nationally.

As we have seen earlier the trying out of different possibilities can allow for a more flexible system. 'Knowledge' within communities frequently incorporates elements from other systems of knowledge which then become part of the whole. Curing can equally be done by a jampiri with the ritual and herbal knowledge as outlined by him, or by the hospital staff on the advice of the same or different jampiri. Utilising new seeds and chemical fertilizers, as part of development projects, and going along with some elements of the project also forms part of the various possibilities available to try out.

The q'aras (Que.) (bareness), on the other hand, tend to exclude other possibilities which are considered to be outside their system. The Catholic Church may include indigenous music and the Quechua language in their rituals, but the sources of legitimisation and knowledge will not include elements from a system which it considers 'superstitious'. Similarly, development institutions recognise that the culture of the campesinos needs to be 'awakened', 'revitalised', and projects should be based on what the campesinos 'need'. However, campesinos beliefs regarding Pachamama and their rituals and offerings are considered as being based on a 'magico-religious' system which is seen as an obstacle to 'liberation', and to 'progress'. 'Science' and a general analysis of the socio-economic situation of the campesinos based to a large extent on Social Theory derived from Western European sources are the justification and legitimisation of development projects in addition to other general assumptions.

As we have seen there are differences between development workers in terms of the conceptions of knowledge and their application of such knowledge. Each have also different ways of legitimising and justifying their own knowledge. Professional staff frequently resort to their 'scientific' explanations to back their position in the hierarchy and their authority and power. It is through their analyses of the 'reality of the campesinos' on which much of the content of projects depends. Fieldstaff on the other hand resort to experience with campesinos and their greater rapport with them. This knowledge is used to legitimise their own actions in the project or to justify actions which do not support or

coincide with those expected and stipulated in project proposals as prepared by professional staff.

The public recognition of this knowledge (either of professional or fieldstaff) enhances their position and power within the institution. Professional staff have a further recognition which goes beyond the institution, i.e. the voiced prestige and status given to university education within the institution and also outside it. They are considered 'experts' in their own field and as such their statements are not eligible to challenge from 'non-experts'.

In contrast the knowledge of aisiris relies heavily on secrecy for power and authority. The seeking of advice is usually done without the knowledge of other people in the community. Offerings and rituals are sometimes done with only those concerned. Depending on the reason for the rituals, aisiris may call on other people to be present or not. The reputation of aisiris is a frequent topic of conversation within communities, and people might suggest a particular one for a particular case. As explained earlier the various categories of aisiris have mostly a complementary nature with one another. The knowledge of the extent of complementarity is known in more depth by aisiris who frequently refer cases to other aisiris or to the hospital in Sopachuy. However, the precise hierarchy is not common knowledge among most people. Who is the master of aisiris is at best deduced but only known with certainty by other aisiris.

In contrast, among development workers although complementarity is intended and presented as smoothly functioning within institutions and donor organizations, as we have seen this

exterior complementarity is often internal conflict with the resorting to different justificatory mechanisms to maintain and strengthen positions within development institutions. The crevasses within institutions are not only in terms of different types of 'knowledge' and cultural presuppositions of the different staff members. Frequently, divisions among professionals themselves and fieldstaff themselves occur due to marked ideological differences. This in turn affects sources of 'knowledge' as forms of justifications. Adherence to a particular ideology not only affects the methods and approaches intended by a given group, but also the sources of funding for those projects. Political parties provide financial backing to some institutions and projects, who in turn rely on foreign funds from similarly based (ideologically) political parties in 'developed countries'.

In other words, differences and conflicts within development institutions enter the idiom of 'knowledge' in order to justify their differences or to impose their ideas and concepts over those of others. Although the types of knowledge resorted to may be in conflict with one another, as for example, drawn from a Marxist analysis or drawn from an analysis which rejects conflicts between 'classes' but analyses society in terms of growth which will eventually 'trickle down' to benefit all, the adoption of one or another may not only depend on public recognition, but also will be tied to the sources of funds.

Adherence to a particular ideology which in turn influences the methods and approaches intended for projects is not necessarily reflected in the execution of the projects. This does not necessarily represent a dissonance in terms of ideologies with staff

executing the project, but is rather due to the 'narrowing' of the theoretical concepts when interpreted and presented to promotores and as presented by promotores to their communities.

Both the priest and development workers have more formalised occasions for presenting their knowledge. This is mostly done during courses in a format which much resembles that of a class room with pupils and teachers. In fact they are referred to as corsillos (courses) with the implication that promotores or those attending are there to acquire 'knowledge'. The assumption here is that knowledge needs to be given in order to achieve 'conscientization', the intended 'change', 'liberation' and so on. To this end courses are prepared in terms of subjects which are compartmentalized. During these courses 'ignorance' is expressed in opposition to all the benefits achievable through the acquisition of the given knowledge. As we have seen the priest attempts to dismiss Inca beliefs by attributing ignorance to them. With ignorance eternal life will not be reached, and even in this life ignorance is the cause of many problems within communities: 'individualism', 'egoism', 'disunity', 'paganism', 'sin' and 'evil'.

The power of development workers lies to a large extent in their position as 'translators'. They are expected to translate and transmit the needs and interests of campesinos in the project proposals and eventually include them in the projects themselves. They, due to their recognised (as such by people in other institutions and in donor agencies) knowledge can discern elements from 'campesino culture' which should be 'revitalised', 'maintained', 'preserved' 'rationalized', and so on. This can be said to become a form of folklorising 'culture'. Culture is removed

from its social context and in a sense commoditized. Indigenous music, weavings, crafts and so on are regarded as culture which are in turn given a commercial value.

I have identified differences between the various forms of 'knowledge' as referred to and recognised by different groups related through the 'process of development'. Two further important points should also be made. The first refers to the power and strength of some forms of knowledge as opposed to that of others depending on the context. For example, professional staff may be in a position of parity in discussions with staff from donor organizations. Both are able to use the same terms and ideas. Whether the assumptions differ, as we have seen in earlier examples, does not impede the possibility of having a 'dialogue'. Communication thus can take place in the sense that each side is able to present what the other expects in terms of ideas and 'knowledge'. These may be adapted and shaped to a certain extent in order to allow some form of dialogue which both sides require in order to continue with the projects and the funding for these.

Resorting to the form of knowledge as used by professionals may in discussions within the institution and during elaboration of projects exclude other forms of knowledge on the grounds that they are not sufficiently 'systematized', 'scientific' and so on. The professionals form of knowledge is sanctioned by a greater recognition of it being an accepted and objective form of knowledge which leads to greater understanding of the 'reality of campesinos'. This recognition is a form of power which excludes other forms of knowledge as for example those which may come from fieldstaff, promotores or 'beneficiaries'.

In the context of courses for promotores and in visits to communities fieldstaff can resort to their form of knowledge and ipso facto exclude others. The theoretical analysis and input of professional staff is narrowed based on their interpretations of these and based on their assumptions concerning their work and the 'reality of the campesinos'.

In the context of a promotor presenting the 'knowledge' as given to him in courses, he echoes the terms and ideas given and in turn narrows these according to his experience of, for example, sindicatos and cooperatives, the church in the area. Furthermore, this knowledge as given does not take into account other forms of knowledge present within communities. It negates any positive input from local knowledge. It approaches campesinos as if they were a tabula rasa which will absorb this given knowledge in its entirety since it is assumed there is nothing else which may complement it or contradict it. However, this assumption as I have shown by presenting the world views as they relate to knowledge and the local experts, is in conflict with the local 'reality'. Promotores and 'beneficiaries' may echo the terms and ideas given to them as 'right knowledge' but their interpretation and understanding of these is made on the basis of their own 'knowledge'. In the context of the communities the knowledge of professionals does not exclude or cancel out their own (as is sometimes intended and assumed by development workers). Elements of this knowledge are sometimes adopted, but the fact that promotores may echo the terms and ideas, does not represent a complete adoption of the ideas, the implications behind actions which are related to ideas and finally the assumptions behind such ideas.



Broadly speaking we can see a general distinction between the different types of knowledge which in turn represent a conflict in assumptions between campesinos and development workers in general. The kind of knowledge of the latter can be said to be ontological in the sense that that knowledge is part of being a campesino. The sense of identity and the ability to operate within communities hinges entirely on a possession (to different degrees) of this kind of knowledge. By contrast, the knowledge of development workers does not represent their identity. Granted their position in the hierarchy of institutions will be affected by the extent of recognised knowledge a given person has, but the identity and ability to operate in his context (an urban one) does not depend to such an extent on the acquisition of such knowledge. This latter knowledge is commoditised and extendable while the other is secret and contractable.

Before ending this chapter and as a form of illustration of degrees of miscommunication or partial communication or even clashes that do occur between the different forms of knowledge and world views, the case of a young man may be illuminating.

This young man had worked as a promotor and came from a neighbouring community to Horcas. He had made a decision without prior consultation of anyone to leave his community and go to work in the city. There he found a job as a messenger in the university and after a few weeks became very ill. A psychiatrist within the university was called upon to treat him, but this continued for months without any improvement - or, more precisely, with a deterioration. As a result the young man lost his job and returned to his community. After a few days his mother visited the local

jampiri who "looked" at the coca leaves and suggested they called on another jampiri from another community who could llamar el animo (literally: call the soul or spirit). The second jampiri "looked" at the coca leaves and made arrangements for a ceremony to be held three nights later (a Saturday) at which friends and relatives of the sick man would be present.

That night, the young man was placed on the ground in the patio of his home with people from his community and neighbouring communities all around him. It was a dark night with the fire from the cooking stove and the fire for the offerings as the main sources of light. The jampiri looked at the coca leaves once again, and then continued to make offerings with the ingredients he had brought and others which had to be acquired the day before. A small dog was then brought and placed near the young man. The jampiri called upon spirits from the Machu Uργο and other apus of the area, and on various saints. He voiced some of their voices and they spoke through him. An incision with a knife into the throat of the dog was then made. Once the dog began to bleed the jampiri, in his own voice, announced to the young man and everyone present that if the dog died by the following morning the young man would not be cured. If, however, the dog continued to have life the young man would be cured. More offerings were made sporadically during the rest of the night in the presence of all. With the first rays of sunlight the dog was examined and found to be alive. The young man rose and his appearance and attitude were completely different to that of the previous days and night.

The jampiri, whom I had visited several times before, explained to me that the offerings and all the activities during the

night were intended to make the young man 'grow'. The pena (sorrow) made him 'empty' and this had to be replaced by a 'flowering'. His many offerings made the young man 'remember'. These offerings had been carefully chosen specifically for this. His achachillas (ancestors) had also come during the night and spoken through him. His animals, his house, his fields and saints had also come. He would be all right now, he simply needed to continue to take some herbs in the next few days.

I was told by members of his family that the young man had gone to work in the city in the first place because he lacked 'respect' for his father and brothers. When he left he did not 'know' how to be a good son and brother, furthermore, he did not have anyone to 'visit' when in the city. The father said he cared for this son and sent him to the school for two years, and yet he continued to make his 'mother cry' by quarrelling with his father and brothers and by leaving. By returning he showed he wanted to be a good son, but his animo had been 'captured' when he was passing by a solitary and dangerous spot by a dry spring on his way to the city. He had not taken the precautions he should on passing places such as these.

Days later when I described to the development workers, with much detail, what had happened to the young man, they attributed the cure to the psychological power which campesino beliefs and practices had for them. The psychiatrist gave me a long explanation of the alienation of the young man in the city and his need to find his own identity back in his community. The cutting of the dog's throat was explained in terms of a psychological trick whereby the jampiri knew exactly where and how deep the incision should be to

avoid the death of the dog. When I transmitted these thoughts to people in the development institution, they thought the psychiatrist was correct in his analysis.

This chapter has examined different notions of knowledge and the forms of justification utilized by different groups to preserve their knowledge and use it as a way to maintain their power. Through the discourse of knowledge I have tried to show the ways in which there is conflict and miscommunication between these forms of knowledge. The next chapter examines these impasses in more depth by including other elements such as fiestas and 'bloqueos' (literally translated as blockages) - forms of protests used by campesinos to exert pressure on the State by blocking roads in the rural areas.

FOOTNOTES

1. Identification of such categories is made by q'aras.
2. ~~Companero~~(a) can be translated as companion, partner, colleague or friend. In Horcas and in neighbouring areas the terms are used to refer to spouse.

## Chapter Eight

### FIESTAS AND BLOQUEOS

This chapter provides a variation from the previous in the sense that it approaches the material in a different way. Unlike previous chapters it does not deal with 'themes' or categories as such, but rather with two events. In this respect the information here presented is differently treated. Furthermore, the arguments in previous chapters are taken a stage further exemplifying two events in some detail. These two events, fiestas and bloqueos, are taken as two grand metaphors for ideas and actions of many campesinos. Both events are compared and contrasted with one another examining in further depth the semantic implications of each. Both events attract wider attention, i.e. beyond their immediate geographical context, both appear to express similar concerns although in a different idiom. Moreover, many of the groups discussed in previous chapters do have strong views on both these events. These too are examined as part of the general discussion.

In the first section of this chapter, fiestas and bloqueos are discussed in some detail. In the second section both are compared and contrasted with one another and examined in a wider sense with particular attention to what they convey and communicate or not as the case may be.

## Fiestas

Preparations for the fiesta of San Juan begin several days before the 24th of June. In fact the initial preparations go as far back as the previous fiesta, i.e. to the preceding year. At the previous fiesta the pasantes (sponsors) for the next fiesta are chosen, and during the course of the year they need to make adequate provisions and preparations for their role as pasantes in the forthcoming fiesta. Several weeks before the ingredients for the food and chicha are stocked. This may involve visits to other communities, to the town and so on. Three to four days before the eve of the 24th the cooking and making of chicha are started and continue until the evening of the 23rd. Members of pasantes households are obviously for the most part involved in these preparations. Members, mostly kin, from other households also take part in the preparations. Women spend longer periods than men in the making of chicha.

During the eve of the fiesta, there was a game of football with players from Horcas against players from the neighbouring community of Paslapaya. People started to gather while the game was going on, from Horcas, from neighbouring communities, and some from the town; compadres of some people in Horcas, and the local teacher and her family (her husband was one of the former hacienda landowners of Horcas who still owned some land). At dusk the ayarichis (Que.) (group of musicians) were heard approaching as they played their music along one of the paths leading to the school and church area of Horcas where everyone was gathering. After dark the bonfires were started and chicha began to circulate, carried in buckets and tutumas (Que.) (small containers made from a type of

pumpkin) by women. Whole buckets full were offered to a particular person who in turn offers chicha from this bucket to those in his/her group. Before drinking and just before finishing chicha or mistelas, libations are made to the ground for Pachamama. This is done not only by people from the communities but also by those town people present. The night continued with groups of people chatting, children playing around the bonfires, and at times the ayarichis playing.

The following morning the priest and one of the nuns arrived. The statue of St. John had by now been put into the Church which was decorated with paper chains and arches made of tree branches which held strings of bread and bottles of mistelas. The priest said mass in Quechua, but said the sermon in Spanish which was translated by the landowner and husband of the teacher. As part of the sermon a list of eight couples was read out indicating that these people were living in "sin" without being "married". The evils of living together without a Catholic marriage ceremony were recounted in terms being backward and uncivilized. He reminded people of his reluctance to baptise children whose parents were not married. He further reminded people of the evils of drinking, and the disrespect such behaviour represented on such religious occasions. In his sermon the priest made reference to St. John and the example of his life for everyone. St John had devoted his life to others for the benefit of others. People should follow his example in an attempt to become more united as a community and refrain from being individualistic and selfish, seeking only personal gain.



After the mass seven children were baptised. All godparents were from the town, apart from myself. Following the baptisms, the procession began with the statue of St. John which was carried outside the church and around the large area in front of the church. The priest in his full red and white clothing and bearing the holy water led the procession solemnly praying and blessing the statue. Finally the statue was returned to the church and remained there until the following day. All through the remainder of the day and the night candles were lit in front of the statue in the church, mostly by women. These were sold by the teacher and her daughters in the school nearby. Women remained in the church in vigil over their candles. They said it was necessary to make sure that the candles did not go out. If their candles burned well things would not go wrong for their cattle the following year, and the saint would grant them cattle, and prevent loss or illness of their animals.

Shortly after the procession the priest, the nun and some young men from the parish left, and chicha drinking recommenced. All through the day the ayarichis intermittently played their music and danced in front of St. John's statue in the church. Ayarichis are paid to play and dance for two nights and one day (for which they are given a calf). During the early afternoon the food was served to everyone present (approximately 400 people). It was cooked in large pans (soup, potatoes, meat in chilli sauce). By late afternoon most people were merry and continued with the drinking. In the empty silo next to the church a group was gathered drinking and chatting. From time to time the ayarichis entered the silo to play and dance there. They too were given drinks of chicha and

mistelitas. The older man of the ayarichis played the role of jester from time to time, especially teasing women. Inside the silo, the ex-landowner and his wife (the teacher) joined the drinking. They praised the main pasante who was also there and suggested that perhaps the following year there should be two main pasantes because one could not be able to surpass the quality and quantity of what had been provided this year. The teacher gave the name of the person she thought would be good to have as pasante. He was present but in a severe state of alcoholic intoxication. The landowner and his wife approached him and put the idea to him. This was done in the following terms. St. John had chosen him as the next pasante. The saint looks favourably when fiestas are done well and is predisposed to be miraculous. He should be honoured since the saint was now choosing him. The candidate murmured he would accept but he had to consult his wife. He then began to cry recounting the story of his absent daughter. In the meantime the landowner set out to find the wife. There appeared to be confusion, there were rumours that the wife would not accept. The wife did not come as asked, but sent word to say she would not accept.

Ponceano, the man reputedly said to have more land than others in Horcas, and who had recently bought land from the teacher, was then suggested as the next pasante. The sulik'a (Que.)) (the next in line after the dirigente (Sp.)), was suggested as the other chosen one. Both had been chosen by St. John to be pasantes the following year. The latter was reluctant at first and so was his wife when consulted. Following many tutumas full of chicha they all agreed. The group then left the silo and entered the church where the strings of bottles of mistelas and of bread were given to the

chosen pasantes, they in turn gave some to other people present who would act as pasantes for the music, fireworks, and the acquiring and organising of the bulls. Back in the silo they were given large containers full of chicha and food which they in turn offered to those who would be responsible for certain aspects of the fiesta the following year. These presentations meant that the persons receiving have to present the same but in double quantities. The ayarichis entered played and danced again. Later that afternoon the bulls were brought to the area of the football ground in front of the school and church. The "corridas" (bull fights) took place. These consisted of a bull attached to a long rope held by one man. Other men entered the area where the bull stood and attempted to untie a ribbon round its neck. The bull was chased and he himself did a great deal of chasing. Once the ribbon was removed the bull was changed for another. Most of the men chasing the bull were fairly drunk and some tried to reach the centre of the football area where a large container of chicha had been placed. It was a source of much amusement when the attempts to fill up a tutuma were suddenly interrupted by the charge of the bull.

#### Interpretations of Fiestas

The landowner and his wife made the following explanations of the fiesta. It was a tradition which had to be maintained. Something inherited from the Incas, and continued by his grandfather and then by his mother; a form of display of reverence to the patron saint. The statue of the saint had been brought to Horcas by his grandfather who was devout to the saint. On this occasion the name

of the community had changed to San Juan de Horcas. It was well known to him, said the landowner, that the saint was miraculous. He for one, because he gave a mass every year in honour of the saint, never lost cattle (unlike others who lost on average five animals every year). The saint gave cattle and protected them. If the fiesta and its preparations were done without enthusiasm or with complaints, the saint had the power to punish. He gave examples of people who had suffered losses (burning of a house, loss of cattle, sickness in animals) because they had refused to accept when the saint had chosen them. In previous years (prior to the land reform) the place of congregation had been in the casa de hacienda (Sp.), but now they (the campesinos) preferred to gather in the school and nearby houses. They say they want to do things "their way". He said he had an active role every year in organizing the fiesta. "If left to their own devices, they might not do anything or do it badly". He told me people did everything because of their devotion to the saint, and because it is "our tradition".

The haulier (compadre of the pasante) who had joined in the fiesta for most of the time, and came later on to collect the cow he had bought from his compadre had the following ideas concerning the fiesta. These fiestas were inherited from the Spaniards. Many of our bad things were handed down from the Spaniards. "These people have so little and yet spend so much and with no financial returns". "They drink for days and sleep around, and with anyone".

The priest praised the religious occasion and emphasised the need to bless it with a mass. He had expected at least a couple of weddings, and he likes to perform these when he visits communities, but in Horcas there were none this time. He said, sadly campesinos

look upon this occasion as an excuse for drinking heavily. "The only time they sing and remember their music is when they are drunk". It is also an opportunity for a few to make economic gains. He was referring mostly to people from the town.

None of the development workers (from any institution) were present. On these occasions of celebration, it is considered a time to avoid the countryside since it is difficult to work on those days. They are considered wasteful occasions in terms of time, money and general resources. They are activities which are part of the exploitative condition in which the campesinos have to operate. A negative aspect of their 'culture'. Development workers did not differentiate between the different occasions when people in the area had celebrations. They were all occasions to be avoided.

Fiestas are here spoken of in a wide and general sense<sup>22</sup>. It must be made clear, however, that there are differences between what are called fiestas in communities and other days of celebration commemorating, for example, All Saints Day, or Carnival and so on. There are two dates in Horcas which are spoken of in terms of "fiestas": St John's day on the 24th June, and the martyrdom of St John on the 29th August. These are dates in which the community itself is commemorated since its full name is San Juan de Horcas (St John of Horcas). There is a distinction between how the activities for these dates are arranged and considered by most people in Horcas, and between how the activities and arrangements are done for the other marked events (All Saints Day and Carnival being the most prominent). One of the major celebrations in the communities is that of Carnival as it was referred to by some men in Horcas as the birthday of Pachamama; an occasion to present her with offerings

and show her love and respect. She, after all, gave life to everything, and could if angry cause harm and punish. All Saints is an occasion to greet the souls and present them with food and drink. They are remembered and their return is celebrated. On both these occasions some of the men who were absent on temporary labour in different regions of the country returned. When people spoke of "fiestas", they mostly referred to the celebrations which commemorated the community. Some people in Horcas said that being a pasante on the latter occasions meant a huge expense. Avoiding the wrath of the saint was given, by some, as a reason for having to incur such expense. A further reason was the wrath of the landowner and the teacher. Devotion to the saint and his miracles were additional explanations for the celebrations. The saint protects cattle by giving them health and preventing loss. Their health and well-being are linked to his miraculous powers. The presence of the priest at least once a year was welcomed. He came to say mass and to baptise the children. These were actions which the saint also expected so as to grant his miracles and provide and protect cattle.

Generally, there is a feeling of ambivalence toward fiestas. At times they may be perceived as difficult and an imposition from others. On the other hand, they may be seen as times for enjoyment and for offerings to souls, ancestors, spirits and Pachamama.

Other groups, not necessarily from communities, may regard some aspects of these events as a means towards exercising certain rights and achieving certain goals, while at the same time condemning other aspects as 'wasteful' in terms of time and money, and as constituting beliefs and practices which lead to and form part of an exploitative system. Other outside groups may encourage

fiestas as a means of achieving their own ends, and as a convenient setting for flexing their muscles in the power relations of the area.

The distinction between fiestas and other celebrations is particularly relevant in the importance given to these events. However, they all share similarities in terms of themes and general activities. It is in this general sense that I continue my general analysis of fiestas.

#### Bloqueos

A social study of bloqueos has not as far as I know been carried out. Bloqueos have since the 1950s comprised a means of protest of campesinos. Although this action takes the form of blocking major and minor roads preventing flow of goods and people to and from urban centres, it is also a means of communication with the State. The relation between the State and campesinos in general is considered by many (Blanes, 1983, Urioste, 1984) as unbalanced in the sense that campesinos have contributed for decades to the economy of the country; they provide more than half of the labour force in the country; they maintain their reproductive position principally on the basis of their own resources; they provide the country with a large proportion of agricultural produce with little support from the State. The largest support in terms of funds and technical assistance from the State has been directed to the eastern Departments in Bolivia, principally Santa Cruz. The resettlement areas in Santa Cruz may in future provide a larger proportion of agricultural produce for that region and others.

There has, in the last few years due mostly to increase in urban population, been an increase in the demand for agricultural produce and an increase in specialised crops, i.e, cash crops which weakens self-sufficiency in some areas (Blanes 1983). The commercialization system currently benefits transportistas who have almost a monopoly of relations between the cities and communities. The State policies relating to financial and technical support, and prices, have favoured mostly "agro-industrial" production and medium size producers, to the neglect of the small scale producers. These policies have strengthened the position of the intermediaries - the transportistas. The State generally has been concerned with provision of agricultural produce for urban consumption where the political and economic pressures are greater and more immediate.

The means utilized to pressurise the State on issues concerning campesinos have often been through bloqueos which prevent any movement on main, trunk and minor roads to and from the cities and towns. Bloqueos have not always been organized on economic aspects of this relationship with the State, but have included political conflicts, at times expressed by rivalries between Unions of campesinos<sup>5</sup>. The reaction of the State to bloqueos has at times been extremely violent, causing loss of lives amongst campesinos. One of the most prominent of these took place during the last decade in the High Valley of Cochabamba during the military Government of Colonel Banzer. Reacting to pressure from the International Monetary Fund in October 1972 the peso was devalued by 67 per cent in order to obtain a US\$24 million loan from the Fund. The devaluation increased the cost of living by 39 per cent over the following year while wages rises were limited to approximately 10



per cent. In early 1974 State subsidies on basic goods and services were removed adding to the general crisis. During those agitated days, more than one hundred factories went on strike in La Paz, in support of striking miners and bank workers. In the country side campesinos were prohibited from increasing the market price of their produce and received no compensatory bonus. Moreover, many did not produce the goods affected and, like urban workers, were forced to purchase them at the new prices. Following further strikes in Cochabamba and threats to blow up bridges, the main road from Cochabamba to Santa Cruz was blocked. These blockages were later extended from kilometre 20 as far as kilometre 126 (up to the turning for Sucre). Despite heavy rains some 20,000 campesinos congregated at the major points at which the highway was blocked. They demanded the removal of the decrees and the presence of Banzer in the area to negotiate with them. The president's response was to reject a dialogue under pressure, declare a state of siege and send reinforcements of local troops. Tanks and armoured cars were sent in and the "Massacre of the Valley" began in the village of Tolata. The total death toll was estimated at between 80 and 200. There were no military casualties. (Dunkerley 1984).

During my presence in the area there were two attempted bloqueos. One did not get beyond a meeting in Sopachuy, and the other ended after one day. Prior to my arrival in the area there had been a bloqueo which lasted for about eight days. A note from the subcentral from Sopachuy initiated activities on the three occasions. These notes "ordered" the dirigente in Horcas (as well as in other communities) to call all adult men in Horcas to attend a meeting in Sopachuy to organize the bloqueos. Failure to attend was

threatened with several days work without pay on a road clearance scheme nearby. On both occasions after receiving the note from the subcentral, the orders were carried out although knowledge of the reasons for having the bloqueos was lacking on the part of the dirigente as well as on the part of other men who went to attend the meeting. A reluctance to attend was expressed by most men to me on the grounds that it could mean several days absence from duties and activities which required their attendance in the fields and in their households. The previous bloqueo was mentioned as a time when some hardship was endured since, on that occasion too, no knowledge of the length of time involved was known in advance. Hardly anyone made provisions at their households for their absence, nor had they taken food for so many days. On the bloqueos neighbouring campesinos had to give them food and shelter, and many people endured a great deal of hardship during those days.

Prior to the two calls to attend meetings in Sopachuy to prepare for bloqueos rumours of bloqueos had already circulated in the area (in the town and communities). In Horcas they did not appear to be taken seriously. Few people knew what exactly was happening in this respect in the rest of the Department. Although many households do have a radio, and broadcasts are made by one development institution in the area in Quechua, few people used their radios for lack of batteries which had risen drastically in price in recent months. Some people in Horcas heard for the first time about these intended bloqueos when the dirigente was talking about them after receiving the note from the subcentral. After meeting in Sopachuy, they (and others from all neighbouring communities) were to go to Arquillos (a neighbouring town at a cross

roads between two trunk roads) for the bloqueos. The dirigente giving this information asked me and the teacher why the bloqueos were taking place.

The following day men gathered outside the church and school before walking to Sopachuy for the meeting. There was talk of the sanctions of unpaid work for several days and of fines which were also being demanded. (The fine was at the time 500,000 pesos, the equivalent of two US dollars. The most prevalent daily wage paid in Sopachuy at the time was the equivalent of one US dollar). Most of them told me they were going because of the threatened fines and sanctions. Some were excited at the prospect of the having the bloqueos and told me it was in order to stop the ever increasing prices of most things. Later that afternoon, following the meeting, everyone returned from Sopachuy. Most men said they were relieved at the cancellation of the bloqueo, they heard the "problem had been solved". "The President had signed the agreements".

During the preceding days the Government had been put under a great deal of pressure by the Union of Workers (COB) in relation to rising prices and low salaries. Strikes by many sectors were organized to this end. The Union of Campesinos also made demands on the Government, and threatened to have bloqueos, which it did in some regions. The latter was demanding fourteen points to be agreed upon. These referred to a prices policy relating to agricultural crops produced by campesinos. Furthermore, commercialization and distribution of produce from campesino communities was to be reviewed and to taken over by CORACA. This meant getting rid of the transportistas who are a power group in the country as a whole. The Government acceded to the fourteen points made by the Union of

Campesinos, but as many people in the cities, including several development workers, remarked this did not mean that these points would be put into effect. During the previous bloqueo prior to my arrival in the area of Sopachuy, and while I was in the city of La Paz, the whole country was at a stand still for two weeks with strikes of many sectors organized by the Union of Workers (COB), and bloqueos made by campesinos organized by the Union of campesinos. During these weeks hoarding took place in the cities, not only of agricultural goods, which meant a further rise in prices. campesinos and transportistas were unable to bring in agricultural produce from the rural areas which meant that some communities were unable to sell their products and these went to waste. This particularly affected areas which grow vegetables and fruit which cannot be stored for long.

During these weeks of bloqueos, the area of Sopachuy had been the scene of confrontation between groups. Campesinos in Horcas told me that the subcentral had failed to give proper instructions concerning the bloqueos of that time. Some campesinos from the communities of the Alto came down to the town of Sopachuy and threatened the subcentral. Campesinos from the area of Sopachuy defended their subcentral and soon after bloqueos also took place in the area. There had been rumours of the subcentral accepting large quantities of coca leaves from people trying to prevent the bloqueos.

General talk of bloqueos in Horcas is linked to the subcentral, whether as an organizer, overseer or enforcer. Like the dirigente he is not trusted and rumours of his openness to corruption are frequent. However, he is feared like many of the

authorities in the area. He has the power to enforce sanctions, to change dirigentes through not only his own power, but the power of his contacts in the city in the Union of Campesinos. Although he speaks Quechua fluently and spends a great deal of time with campesinos in town, in chicherias, and visiting neighbouring communities, he is regarded and dealt with most cautiously. Some people in Horcas, however, were excited about the bloqueos as a means towards improving the situation of ever rising prices. Others were reluctant to take part due to the hardship and length of time that might be taken up. The scarcity of goods was not of such consequence compared with the town, even less with the nearest city.

Landowners, transportistas and many shopkeepers in Sopachuy were extremely worried during the bloqueo when campesinos from the Alto arrived and threatened to ransack their shops. Transportistas were unable to move for several days and the situation generally was considered by them as extremely tense. They thought the Government was weak as it permitted the high numbers of strikes and bloqueos to take place. They sarcastically commented on the fact that the country was being run by the Union of Workers (COB), and the President was simply their puppet. The campesinos on the bloqueos were rebellious and they too needed a strong hand. The country was upside down; agricultural and other goods were scarce in some places, they were rotting in others, no one could go anywhere and the campesinos were causing all this.

Most development workers supported the idea of bloqueos as a means to pressurise a then democratic Government which might accede

The reluctance and confusion of some campesinos in Horcas concerning the bloqueos stemmed to a large extent from a lack of communication between themselves and the intentions and actions of campesinos in other areas. When discussing with them the fourteen points demanded, there was agreement with their content. However, to this agreement a note of disbelief was added, as to the likelihood of these being conceded. They also conveyed an attitude of having heard it all before. They recognised that bloqueos were a means to put pressure on the State to improve certain conditions, or make protests on unfair policies and decrees. However, whether the subcentral was a true representative of their concerns and interests was highly questioned.

#### The miracles of St. John and the reclamation of rights

Some authors have seen the fiesta system as a means of redistribution of wealth (Carter 1964), and an economic levelling (Nash 1958), or as a means of communicating continuity and change in social relationships (Buechler 1971). My concern with fiestas here is to stress the different interpretations of fiestas by various people participating. Furthermore, I wish to point out how each group adopts their own interpretation in order to justify and legitimise their ideas, beliefs and actions in the area.

The miraculous nature of St. John is the language utilized by the landowner and his wife to appoint the pasantes for the following year. He still owns land in Horcas and in a neighbouring community, and to a large extent maintains relations with people in

Horcas in a language of 'miracles', 'safety', 'protection' and 'well-being'. Many people in Horcas resented this landowner and his family and were experiencing disputes over land with him and his family.

The priest took these occasions as opportunities for reaching and influencing campesinos against their "pagan" ways. campesinos, as far as his analysis goes, require help, "but they should do more to help themselves". "They need to change their mentality for a Christian mentality". "There is too much ignorance about the gospel and all that that implies". St. John is presented as an example. His martyrdom is a sacrifice for the good of the whole. Excessive drink and "superstitions" are not Christian behaviour and should not take place, especially on occasions when saints are commemorated. Saints days are times to learn from their example, and try to follow their ways. The reason for Bolivia's "backwardness" is lack of "discipline and hard work". A prime example of this is the excessive drinking during fiestas; people continue with their old ways with no desire to improve or produce more.

On the other hand people in Horcas are keen to have the priest in the community and to have the mass said. The mass can be an offering to St. John who is not necessarily to be followed as an example, but regarded as a protector of animals in general and cattle in particular. The priest is regarded with warmth, and at times, fear. Catholic marriages are not resented, but they need to be done when there are enough resources for preparing large quantities of chicha, food and for acquiring new clothes. Otherwise "weddings cannot take place". There was confusion among some women

as to the unwillingness by the priest to baptise children when the parents were not married by the Church.

Although other town people present in the fiesta were critical of the high expenditure involved in fiestas in general, they nonetheless take part in the festivities, as they have done in previous years. They are compadres with some people in Horcas and are treated by them as special guests. Their participation in the fiestas strengthens their compadrazgo links with the community, and ensures a continued access to agricultural produce, and to other goods from the community. One of them was buying cow from his compadre in Horcas, which he then sold a few days later, together with more cattle, in Sucre.

Several of the ideas present in the campesinos themes discussed in Chapter Three find their expression during fiestas. The offerings for St. John in the form of a mass or in lighting candles for his statue, or in other preparations for and activities during the fiesta for example, are ways of dealing with uncertainties particularly relating to cattle. The prestations offered during the fiesta which need to be doubled by the pasante the following year symbolise the renewal and desired increase of life, as a tribute to the bounties offered by Pachamama.

The eclectic style in fiestas is striking. The people involved are not necessarily from a particular community commemorating a particular saint. In fact those taking part come from several neighbouring communities, and from the different groups in the town: from the church, landowners, hauliers, teachers and so on. The groups of musicians are not only from the community itself but also brought down from the Alto where the style of dress and



music vary. The elements included in the fiesta come from a variety of sources all finding free expression. There is an openness and enthusiasm characterised in the variety of contacts taking place; between compadres, between neighbouring communities, between courting couples, and so on.

The miracles of St. John are an idiom for many of the actions and beliefs that are expressed particularly during these days. These may be underlied by differing assumptions concerning the saint and his role during the fiesta. However, the contradictions which might be apparent on examination do not provoke conflicts between the various participants.

The miracles of St. John as an idiom in fiestas and the reclamation of rights as an idiom in bloqueos share several similarities. Fiestas and bloqueos can be perceived as two grand metaphors. Events in each illustrate certain themes concerned with power, protection and improvement. There is a renewing of contacts either in relation to Pachamama or in relation to the State and other groups locally and nationally. Both are considered major events of more or less spontaneous action related to, on the one hand renewal of life and dealing with uncertainty, and on the other attempting to improve conditions by producing impasses in order to overcome them. Contact and communication with Pachamama through the veins of the earth and provision of offerings, can be compared to the contact and communication with the State by cutting off the veins of the State. Communications are thus ironically attempted by cutting off through force the channels with the State. This action ideally intends to improve channels of communication, and on that basis enabling improvement of conditions and safeguarding rights;

it is a power of resistance used by campesinos when all else has failed. Frequently, however, the blockage is removed by death, as with the example of the High Valley of Cochabamba when the army is sent in and human lives are lost.

Both fiestas and bloqueos are also concerned with openings and closures. Fiestas symbolically mark the beginning and end of the rainy season respectively. Fiestas indicate the initiation of growth and the reaching of full maturity of these. Bloqueos similarly indicate the failure of other channels of negotiation by blocking major structural links, in an attempt to open and improve more drastic channels in the hope of being more effective. Depending on the relations with the State these channels may lead to some form of improvement, or as in the case of Tolata have disastrous consequences in terms of loss of life. The incident in Tolata, however, represented the end of an incongruous "pact" between campesinos and the military started by President General Barrientos soon after he overthrew the MNR Government in 1964. The channel of communication, however artificial, which had been said (mostly by the Military) to exist between campesinos and the military, was cut with the "Massacre of the Valley".

Bloqueos are expressed in the idiom of reclamation of rights through closure. Paradoxically, however, the attempt is to open channels rather than close them, to expand the power of campesinos by uniting their strength through links with other sindicatos campesinos regionally and nationally. As with fiestas many people are involved from various communities and areas. Bloqueos can be said to be metaphors for freedom from constraint. They are protests against constraint, seeking an openness which will provide

campesinos with a channel of communication with the State, and through this increase their freedom and reduce their constraints.

Fiestas involve high numbers of people from not only neighbouring communities but also from the town. Their participation is an spontaneous desire which may take place with a degree of regularity and certainty. The dates for these are fairly regular as yearly events which are recognised by people in the area. Bloqueos on the other hand, may not take place although they had been planned and forecast. Participation in them is often expressed in the idiom of 'orders', and sometimes as a keen desire to demand their rights and make protests. The idiom in bloqueos is mostly in terms of constraints from the State and the uncertainty which is frequently associated with it. Fiestas equally deal with uncertainty in the sense that during these events a relationship with Pachamama is expressed as one of confidence and certainty. Unsatisfactory relationships with the spirits, if the fiesta preparations and celebrations are not properly done, may incur the wrath of the spirits who may replace desired abundance with dreaded scarcity. The latter representing a constraint which is dealt with precisely by holding fiestas. Furthermore, fiestas include a freedom from cultural constraints, as expressed in sexual and other kinds of licence.

Receptivity by various parties to what is communicated or miscommunicated during these two events is examined in more general terms in the final concluding chapter.

## Chapter Nine

### DISCOURSE OF DEVELOPMENT: PARADOXES AND IMPASSES

The previous eight chapters have concentrated on various aspects of the process of development as it unfolds, particularly in the area of fieldwork. The first two provided a context, both nationally and locally for identifying the main scenarios and main actors involved, and the reasons for their prominence. Chapters Three and Four discussed prominent 'themes'. These are identified as such by repeated reference to them verbally and in actions. In these chapters particular attention was paid to the assumptions implicit and explicit in these themes and the extent of concurrence or clash between them. Chapters Five to Seven took as their basis the three axiomatic elements which many development institutions have in their projects. These three elements - production, organization and knowledge - were compared and contrasted with the way in which they are treated, their perception by campesinos, and the assumptions underlying these were also examined. By focussing on production, organization and knowledge I have tried to highlight areas of miscommunication and the extent of concurrence between the various perceptions, interpretations and assumptions. I have shown the extent to which one discursive practice is able to dismiss or exclude another by recourse to legitimations which are considered the norm, and rational within those same discursive practices. It has been argued that the consequence of this dominance for other

discursive practices is frequent resorting to secrecy, to echoing or silence.

This final chapter draws certain major conclusions from the content of previous chapters. Furthermore it offers a recapitulation of some of the issues previously discussed. The evidence presented suggests five main sections for this final concluding chapter: development workers' premises; areas of miscommunication; main actors and events; translators and transmitters; and ways of dealing with miscommunication.

#### Development Workers' Premises

The rationale and justification for projects and programmes of development institutions working in the rural areas is said to be based on the analysis of the "reality" of campesinos. La realidad campesina is talked about among the various groups involved in the process of development. Furthermore, the term 'realidad' is a key word which is frequently used in socio-economic analysis and general discussions concerning various national issues. This term is often discussed as if semantically homogeneous. On the basis of that assumed homogeneity many analyses are based. These analyses do often show severe material problems in most campesino communities: widespread levels of malnutrition particularly among children, high infant mortality, an insufficient 'subsistence' economy which depends increasingly on a market economy and for which, most campesinos are at a disadvantage. The analyses immediately link these problems with the neglect for decades by

successive Governments in directing funds and resources to ameliorate this situation of most campesino communities.

These analyses of la realidad campesina justifiably bring to the foreground these material problems. However, often the milieu of such problems, i.e. the people and their way of life are not given the importance and relevance they deserve. Furthermore, la realidad campesina implies one single reality which we can compare to what Foucault calls the search for truth as a legitimization of a particular discursive practice. Talking of one single reality leaves little room for alternative 'realities' or 'realities' differently interpreted.

Many development institutions have a deep concern and a high motivation to identify alternatives which might result in an improvement of the position of campesino communities. Several of the institutions I visited were concerned not to adopt a 'paternalistic' or 'assistentialist' (from the Spanish asistencialista implying an aid which develops dependence) role with the campesinos they are working with. On the contrary, the intention is to engage in work which may 'strengthen' campesino communities economically and organizationally so as enable them to deal better with the existing dominant power relations within the country. In this pursuit their intended actions based on the analyses of la realidad campesina convert them into translators of this 'reality' (this point is discussed more fully below).

My own analysis is yet another form of translation of the realities as I saw them and interpreted them in the various levels I focussed on. I do not wish this translation to be interpreted as an unsympathetic vision of the work of many of the development

20/ Relations between the teacher and people in communities are ambiguous. On the one hand the teacher is an outlet for selling goods and produce locally. The prices paid for these are mostly half of what is normally paid in the town for the same goods. Teachers in turn sell or exchange goods brought from the city to campesinos. Teachers justified to me the profits they made by their exchange and sale of goods with campesinos on the grounds that their salaries were low and the conditions in which they worked uncomfortable and "primitive". The contact with the teacher by adult campesinos is fairly regular. Teachers can be described as intermediaries between communities and the town and city. Not only are goods interchanged but also information. Teachers often act as advisors when legal or other bureaucratic actions need to be taken in the city. Letters are written by them on behalf of campesinos, and sometimes referrals in the way of contacts in the city.

Rural teachers are therefore sources of 'knowledge' not necessarily because of their official role in communities, but mostly due to their being sources of information and having contacts in cities for activities for which most campesinos lack the appropriate knowledge. Increasingly, my relations with the local teacher in Horcas deteriorated. This was not only due to the fact that she considered my insistence on paying the same prices as in the town for goods bought in Horcas from campesinos (such as eggs, potatoes, etc.) as madness, but also because her power as provider of information and access to contacts in the city diminished with my presence and the presence of development workers who also provided this.

institutions I visited. What I intend is to show, on the basis of my research, how an examination of some of the criteria, ideas, concepts, justifications and assumptions in development policy and the implementation of projects may clarify areas of miscommunication between groups.

Many development workers justify their projects and presence in communities in terms of a need for a greater participation of campesinos in the main political and economic currents in the country. To this end campesinos are assumed to need to acquire certain skills, 'knowledge' and resources which will render their participation fuller and fairer, that is, for the campesinos. Most of these skills, knowledge, material and organization and resources are assumed to have to come from outside campesino communities. Therefore, those who can supply them are themselves inevitably mostly outsiders who are present in the area precisely in order to impart them.

Other visitors to communities, such as Government officials, political party representatives, and ~~and~~ sindicato representatives justify their presence in similar terms but stress the need to adhere to one or other of the "left wing" or "right wing" political parties in order to achieve greater participation and integration into the national society. Here the desired 'change' is often characterised in terms of 'renovation' and a new 'order'. But there is disagreement on the nature of this new order. Landowners in the town and right wing party politicians tend to dismiss and discredit other politicians and development workers as "communists". Earlier in this account I described how I moved out of one community when I realised through rumours in the community



that many people were worried about having a "communist" living there. Explanations to people in that community of my desire to live there were made in terms of my strong links with a development project operating in the area which had already attracted such insinuations. My conclusion was that landowners and politicians justified their actions by using terms such as "communists", "left" and "right" against development workers. Depending on the allegiances of different outsiders these terms will be given various interpretations. "Communists" may be those who "take everything away, including wives". They may be those who work communally for the good of all the community, and all campesinos. "Left", or even those who are simply more concerned and identify with problems of campesinos can be just as bad as "communists". "Right" can be those who take away from and exploit campesinos, or they may be those who gave campesinos "their land", and "their vote". The justification of the subcentral for urging campesinos not to attend meetings with development workers was made in terms of a "communist" threat constituted by these development workers.

Within development institutions activities are planned in terms of projects and programmes. These are justified by professional staff on the basis of theoretical and ideological leanings. Discussions are held which all staff members may attend and on the basis of which projects are set up, continued or discontinued. Familiarity (acquired through university training and experience) and the ability to deal with social theories and analytical perceptions of the "reality" of campesinos provide the legitimate ground for formulating the concepts and activities of projects. There is much use of technical terms from agronomy and

the social sciences in such justifications and explanations. However, many of the attempts at implementation do not match the written stipulations of the project. Fieldstaff can and do justify their actions on the basis of their 'knowledge' of the "reality" of the campesinos. Although fieldstaff are not the only group in contact with campesinos, their presence in communities is more frequent than that of professional staff. Writing reports, attending meetings and to some extent administrative duties, are justifications for the latter not going more often to communities. Fieldstaff consider that they have a greater rapport with campesinos. They speak better Quechua and have more frequent contact with them, and therefore "know" their "reality" better. The language in which projects are introduced by fieldstaff is indeed often derived from courses and analysis made at the institution, but in practice terms and conceptions are interpreted by fieldstaff according to their own perceptions of the "reality" of campesinos and according to their own version of the socio-economic analysis received from their own interpretations and from professional staff.

#### Main actors and events

Events which heighten communication are generally speaking fiestas and fairs in local towns. At these events not only local people are present but also those from neighbouring communities and towns. Communication here is not only between individuals and between households, but may involve events and actions affecting wide ranging relations within the region. Rumours of the Government Development Corporation starting a large

scale irrigation project in a community approximately 40kms. from Horcas were first heard of by me and others during the fiesta of St. John from people who had come from that locality. The reputations of aisiris and jampiris were also talked about on these occasions, usually in the context of a particular incident, such as a dispute or quarrel within or between communities. These events were rich in verbal exchanges between campesinos and their compadres. A large proportion of information received from the town and city comes from compadres. The local teacher and the landowners are also intermediaries and sources of communication from outside. More recently development workers are also taking on these roles. They are questioned on issues concerning the subcentral and the dirigente of the local sindicato which are to some extent outside specific development projects. Other common topics raised with development workers include information relating to prices, political parties, Government bureaucracies, land reform officials, and bloqueos in other areas of the Department.

Promotores are frequently in contact with fieldstaff, either during courses for promotores (which also include professional staff) or visits by development workers (both professional and fieldstaff) to communities. In these encounters there is a narrowing of the more global socio-economic analyses of the position of the campesinos in the western region of Bolivia as a whole, and a more local focussing of such concepts as 'participation', 'organization', 'production' and 'conscientization'. At this level participation can mean campesinos joining the project as already designed. Organization, depending on the institution running the project, may mean sindicatos, or cooperatives, or associations of producers of a

particular crop. Production may, again depending on the institution, mean higher levels of production of one particular crop, whether production is to be directly managed by the association for the benefit of the community, or whether produce is to be purchased and marketed by the cooperative, or stored and used for the benefit of the community as a whole.

Justifications by fieldstaff on these occasions often draw from generalities relating to the exploitation of campesinos by the 'oligarchy' and the transportistas, and the need for stronger organizations based on 'democracy', 'freedom', 'unity' and 'solidarity'.

Most of these encounters are conducted in Quechua. However, many loan words from Spanish are included when the equivalent in Quechua is not known or perhaps not available. Promotores frequently mentioned the difficulty of using these terms and ideas in their onward presentation of projects in communities. Promotores feel that they are not as adept as fieldstaff in presenting those terms and ideas. One promotor remarked that one particular fieldstaff was like a squirrel when talking of sindicatos: he could "jump from one thing to another so well". Another promotor said that even in Quechua they felt it was difficult to talk about such things.

Promotores tend to address themselves to short term, concrete, local problems. Joining a project is justified in terms of solving a current shortage in the availability of seeds in the area, or as a means of dealing with climatic uncertainty. The use of insecticides is encouraged to avoid the spread of disease in plants in a particular field.

Although identification of problems is sometimes shared by promotores and development workers, the perceived means for solving them may not be. Conflicts can arise from disagreement as to the different stress to place on various solutions to problems. On such occasions development workers may suggest resorting to the dirigente, for a conciliatory decision and to strengthen his role as dirigente. But promotores tend to avoid further complications by going along with the consensus of opinion of those participating in the project: for example, that they should work on an agreed number of days and distribute the harvest according to the number of days worked. This way of working is not in accord with the specifications of the project. This project stipulates communal work on the fields in each community in order to strengthen community solidarity and encourage unity, but in practice while work was done communally the harvest was distributed among each household according to the number of days worked by each household. Communal work was justified at courses on the grounds that it would create or recreate solidarity and strong organization within communities as in Inca times and earlier - a feature of the past development workers considered positive and which "should be revived for the benefit of the community, as it was in those days". Promotores however felt unable to deal with the arguments against communal work advanced by some campesinos. For example, they argued that it represented more work for some (specially for promotores) and less for others, so that distribution of the harvests became complicated. Those who spent more time working felt they should have larger shares, a view which was not necessarily shared by others.

The courses for promotores often as we have seen include themes and aims which are not necessarily directly related to 'production'. These are concerned with an analysis of the past and present in terms of conflict between social classes. Fieldstaff's own way of presenting and justifying such analyses are drawn from courses for staff at the institution, but they narrow the concepts and ideas to match their own interpretations. Their perceptions of campesinos (for example, in terms of what the latter are ignorant of) are included when they tell promotores that 'waking up' is about realising their problems and being able to find solutions to them according to the former's interpretations of campesino problems and solutions.

Access to a variety of channels of communication within communities is considered an advantage. The more frequent and varied the access, the more prominent is the position of a given individual. The position of aisiris is enhanced by the greater access to channels of communication which they have. Travelling as we have seen, by aisiris, and now increasingly by promotores and younger men, is a source of 'knowledge' and a further means of access to channels of communication. It is while travelling that most aisiris have their experience with thunder bolts which underwrites and enhances their qualities as aisiris. Travelling is prone to blockages which may be manifest physically or emotionally, both types giving rise to apprehension. For example, travelling without the necessary protection (i.e. carrying coca leaves) along dangerous, solitary mountain paths may lead to loss of the animo (as seen in earlier chapters). Natural events such as the sudden increase of the volume of water in rivers, after heavy rains, or a

heavy land slide on paths or roads which block or impede travelling are frequently recounted as sources of danger.

#### Areas of Miscommunication

Lack of fluent Spanish and thereby exclusion from dominant discourse are difficulties frequently experienced by many campesinos. As we saw in an earlier chapter, an area promotor who was unable to deal with a conflict with a local landowner in the terms suggested during courses, finally resorted to means available only within the campesino context. On one occasion I was called in to a dispute taking place in the police station in Sopachuy, when a man from Horcas was being accused by a woman from Horcas and her comadre, a woman from one of the landowning families in Sopachuy, of fathering her illegitimate child. The police chief took the comadre's word as sufficient evidence to decide to send the man to court in another town. Discussions took place in Spanish in which the young woman was unable to join and the man unable to present his case. In desperation he came to find me and asked (in Quechua) if I would speak on his behalf, that is in Spanish. My presence as "someone from the city" balanced the presence of the comadre in the eyes of the chief of police. The man was allowed to go until more evidence had been found by each to present their case. Campesinos often need to resort to their compadres in the town in this way in order to deal with matters which do not fall into a campesino context. Campesinos visiting the city also frequently resort to development institutions to seek advice in dealings with officials and bureaucracies in the city. During the elections campesinos

visiting the city and calling at the institutions' offices would also ask which political party they (the development workers) considered a good one.

As we have seen, solving problems or difficulties within communities is often done by seeking the local advice of 'those who know'. This may involve going on to see yet other aisiri or jampiri or a visit to the local hospital. The authoritative explanations, advice and remedies of aisiris and jampiris are primarily drawn from notions included in what I have generally called campesino themes, but may also refer to other outside or urban themes. Yet the inadequate 'knowledge' of aisiris and jampiris is sometimes claimed to be a justification for intervention by health projects and by some development workers, and by the priest for his work on evangelization. Or rather it is not fully considered as 'knowledge' in the developers' discourse. Medicinal herbs and their qualities may be classed as 'knowledge', but only if divested of "superstitions". Such distinctions cannot of course be made in the campesinos' discourse of the aisiris.

Promotores too are often in positions where they are communicating messages, knowledge, experiences, and technical skills. Moreover, they are seen as sources of news and information about events and people in other areas they have been in contact with. As discussed earlier, promotores are not really considered to be experts, but are nonetheless put in positions where they are intended to have more 'knowledge' than others in their communities. As stated in the previous section, promotores often deal with short term crises which through their access to certain resources they can ameliorate momentarily. It is therefore important to know which



promotor has access to what and when. However, their ability to spread 'the message' and 'knowledge' encounters certain crevasses which affect the transmission of the intended message and/or knowledge. There is a marked inhibition on the part of promotores to handle terms and ideas in the precise way they were transmitted to them by development workers. Instead there is what I have called 'echoing' of terms and ideas. Briefly, by echoing I refer to the voicing of the same terms and ideas without these necessarily evoking the wider implications or taking up the assumptions implicit in them. This we saw in the example of the organization of communal work. The message is narrowed in its presentation in the sense that it does not convey the wider meanings and purposes attached by the development institution to the concept of communal work. Furthermore, receptivity to what they are supposed communicate is not usually favourable. Joking and mocking often meet attempts to persuade people to take part in particular actions or adhere to certain ideas. The idea of a united community working communally for the good of all was a source of humour when people instanced particular individuals who were known to be partial to chatting a great deal and doing little work. The ensuing atmosphere of laughter made useless the further efforts of promotores to endorse the idea.

Furthermore, since many promotores are attached to more than one institution at a time they are consecutively attending courses on gospel reading, on preparation for the sacrament of confirmation, on organization and production, focussing now on the key role of sindicato, and now on cooperatives, and so on. These promotores narrow the 'messages' received according to their interpretations

and depending on their kind of relationships they have with development workers. To some extent this is quantifiable in the sense that frequent absence from the area on the part of development workers results in the neglect of a particular project. This neglect results in a non-communication of messages and knowledge, and an abandonment of the intended actions for which promoters are responsible. At the same time these promoters are adept in dealing with development workers and conveying to each institution that theirs' are indeed the priority 'message', 'knowledge' and activity that is being conveyed and implemented.

#### Translators and Transmitters

In between and within the various groups involved in the process of development are those who are in a more effective position than others to transmit, translate and interpret the "needs" and "interests", of others. Fieldworkers, and to a lesser extent promoters, are expected to act as channels of communication of the "needs" and "interests" of "beneficiaries". Their translations and interpretations are further translated and interpreted by professional staff when reports are written and new projects designed and prepared. Professional staff are also expected to act as channels of communication. Reports on projects and on the work of the institution cannot ignore the relationship with the donor agencies. Such reports are often written merely to fulfil a requirement of donor agencies. The structure, style and language also need to be in accord with what donor agencies will be able to understand and accept.

Projects, plans and written proposals, reports on projects and programmes are checked, reviewed, and evaluated. In fulfilling those requirements, on which a large proportion of the intended content of projects depends, the staff of development institutions respond primarily to the "needs" and "interests" of donor agencies rather than "beneficiaries".

The often prescriptive content, the stress on planning and evaluation in written reports presents a blockage in communication between some of the groups involved in this process. The primacy given to the written text by professional staff in some institutions and in some donor agencies, for the understanding and evaluating of projects, absolutely prevents people within an oral tradition from entering this form of communication. Yet it is the basis on which major decisions are taken concerning design, planning and execution of projects.

Fieldstaff frequently have difficulty in presenting their experiences of work with campesinos in a systematic form, that is, in the style which the professionals would prefer. Institutions admit to their inadequate knowledge of campesino communities and yet attribute this in part to the lack of time and resources devoted to research, and in part especially to fieldworkers' lack of a systematic working style, and an unwillingness to change. This dilemma stems not just from a lack of training on the part of fieldstaff but also to a degree of miscommunication between levels of staff. From the fieldworkers' point of view the relevance and need for such systematic recording and analysis is associated with the vagueness and 'up in the clouds' 'mentality' attributed to professional staff. Many fieldstaff are trained rural teachers who

continue to work with campesinos in that role. Their motivation, for the work does not give importance to forms of systematic analysis and written reports.

Translators and interpreters of campesinos' needs and interests can be seen as operating a kind of selectivity, in interpreting and translating what should be "recovered" from "cultural practices" and what should not. What is translated as a recoverable cultural practice is often based on the examination of these practices in isolation and out of context. The herbal knowledge of a jampiri may be interpreted and translated as recoverable while the accompanying ritual knowledge may be disregarded. The discursive context of herbal and ritual knowledge is ignored in the translation of what is considered "recoverable". This may be said to apply equally to other aspects of "cultural practices" which are translated as folklore, thus removing the the social context of these practices.

Equally what may be translated as 'recoverable', 'rationalisable' and 'rectifiable' may be extracted from an ensemble of practices, ideas and norms which are followed spontaneously and which when taken globally provide a coherent basis from which to make sense of the world. Carnival celebrations, to give one example, may be considered not worth 'recovering' and yet they provide an important and authoritative source and medium for expressing ideas, beliefs and practices related to production, fertility and creation.

There are other forms of miscommunications related to material sources. Communal work considered 'recoverable' and linked to organizations such as sindicatos and cooperatives is attempted in

the context of individual ownership of land. The individual ownership of land has provided problems for attempts to encourage this type of work. The person whose land was being worked communally was not keen to continue with this practice for more than one or two agricultural seasons. Attempts to utilize land belonging to the local school frequently met with resistance from the local teacher who insisted on larger shares of the harvest or payment of a fee for use of land. Sindicatos and cooperatives are derived from urban models, and their importance is said to lie in the potential strength they can provide through regional and national networks. In the sindicato organization, some areas in Bolivia have at times achieved such strength (particularly in Cochabamba and La Paz in the early years of the Land Reform). In the Department of Chuquisaca, however, sindicatos campesinos have been weaker, and in the area of Sopachuy ideas and practices related to sindicatos are based on local experiences of events and people. We can refer back to bloqueos to see the extent to which their regional and national action is more effective in some areas more than others. Although bloqueos in some respects have been an effective means to at least bring to the foreground constraints and injustices felt by campesinos, in other respects there have been difficulties which go beyond mere access to information of plans and actions in other geographical areas. The way in which sindicatos are experienced in the area of Sopachuy by most campesinos does not coincide with claims of their potential strength and basis for reclamation of rights. The discourse of sindicatos is only partly adopted by most campesinos in the area of Sopachuy. There is thus a blockage in communication when sindicato organization is discussed during

courses and in communities. Attempts to associate projects with the sindicato have met with serious problems, not only with sindicatos in communities but also with sindicato representatives in towns and provinces. The blockage has its ramifications. In the first place dirigentes do not have the prominent role ideally attributed to them by development workers for internal matters in communities. Secondly, the relationship between dirigentes and subcentrales is a vertical one in the sense that "orders" are given from Cantons and Provinces.

National prescriptions, such as that relating to the sindicato organization favoured by several institutions, encounters the blockage in some areas of the local experiences and understanding of the purposes and workings of sindicatos. Equally national prescriptions such as communal work meet the blockage of a system of land tenancy which does not enable that type of work. However, given the prominence of some groups (such as professional staff) in their position as 'translators' and interpreters these prescriptions become dominant over others.

A further area of miscommunication often lies in relations between institutions. Communication between some institutions tends to be partial at best. This is attributable to ideological and methodological differences. These differences have sometimes lead to a delimitation of geographical areas of work for each institution. Neighbouring geographical areas may thus receive different forms of ideological 'messages', or identical terms and similar ideas for disparate actions. Institutions may all refer to 'organization' but mean distinct forms of organization. Similarly,

their approach to sindicatos may be different and yet it may be presented as if such distinctions were absent.

#### Ways of Dealing with Miscommunication

Consequences of impasses in communication are often framed in the idiom of 'the other'. It is the culture of 'the other', in this case that of the campesinos, which is questioned. It is the culture of 'the other' which needs 'change', 'assistance', 'to be woken up' and so on. Frequently, these assumptions are based on outside criteria. As we saw in the chapter 'Kuracas to Promotores', decisions on 'development' and aid for Bolivia were first taken on the basis of 'missions' from the U.S.A. which visited the country. In the offices USAID in La Paz, I was told that their work with successive Bolivian Governments was tailored to policies and tendencies in the U.S.A. For example, during the Presidency of Jimmy Carter, funds were directed in larger proportions to the small agricultural producer, while during Ronald Reagan's presidency funds were directed towards the medium and large agricultural producer. The dominance of the discourse of what is required in terms of 'development' often stems from international considerations which may not coincide with national ones.

Discussions of 'failures' of development projects are frequent. Again these are frequently expressed in the idiom of the 'other'. Development workers often talk of the 'magico-religious' beliefs and practices of campesinos which prevent 'development'. The priest often blamed their 'backwardness' on their 'pagan', 'individualistic' ways. Health workers were prone to explain the

high levels of malnutrition in terms of campesinos neglecting to adopt their advice concerning diet and hygiene. Failure to deal effectively with certain cases was explained in terms of their late arrival at the hospital, in turn due to the deep involvement of "witch doctors" who cause "much harm". By setting the norm according to their discursive practice alternative forms of 'knowledge', of curing, of working the land are excluded not only from practical consideration, but even from the imagined possibility of being able to constitute an alternative. As Foucault suggests these discursive formations frame the ways in which knowledge, language and actions can be understood. They are framed and legitimised by their claim to 'objectivity' and to 'science'. They are able to maintain their power as dominant discursive formations by excluding others as products of "superstition" and "backwardness".

The dominance of discursive formations not only dismisses alternatives, but also leads other discursive formations to readjust within the dominance of the other or to adopt different forms. For example, the knowledge conveyed and expressed by aisiris is mostly done in the idiom of secrecy. Not only are activities related to rituals of curing and bewitching done in utmost secrecy, but also the guardians of such knowledge are organized in a manner which is only known to themselves. Moreover, the receiving of their 'calling' mostly takes place in isolated places while on long journeys. Although there is a great deal of talk of aisiris in terms of their reputations for different aspects of knowledge, and of the efficacy of their knowledge and behaviour, this talk is mainly restricted to members of communities. Visiting aisiris is



not done openly. On the occasions when I visited aisiris the people with whom I went with were always careful to indicate that if anyone asked why we were going to see them we should not be very specific, and where possible avoid the subject altogether.

'Echoing' is not only a means of coping with miscommunication but also a means of resistance against dominant discursive formations. By echoing certain terms and ideas promotores are able to maintain relations with development workers which are often advantageous to them, while at the same time not necessarily adopting the implications behind the terms and ideas echoed.

This in turn leads to an important element in inter-relations between the various groups involved in the process of development. On the surface at least, smooth relations within and between the various groups must be seen to exist. On the one hand, donors and their internal relationships between their own staff need to show that projects are being adequately financed, that these are meeting the needs of their beneficiaries, and that through their counterparts these needs are continually being assessed and reassessed. Failure to present this image may result in difficulties in the continuation of funding from their own sources. On the other hand, counterparts again need to show that communications with their beneficiaries are through clear and unresisted channels. They need to show that their project proposals do contain the needs and interests as articulated by their beneficiaries. The ways in which the funds are used need to show that these are in accord with the identification of goals and criteria of problems and solutions. Similarly, promotores need to

indicate to each institution that it is their 'message' that is being transmitted as given during the courses. This ensures a continuity of certain required resources. It maintains at least one more channel which may offer the possibility of coping with perennial uncertainty. It further ensures, for some promoters, the continuation of a salary.

Underlying this apparent smoothness on the surface are, as we have seen serious areas of miscommunication. The smoothness is enabled to continue by the ambivalence of many of the terms and ideas used during communications between and within groups. Following Parkin's notions on key verbal concepts their ambivalence allows for contradictions within them. Such terms like 'development', 'participation', 'liberation', 'unity', 'organization' are not only ambivalent allowing contradictory interpretations, but are also shapeless in the sense that it is up to the speaker to give them the semantic form desired. Their power lies in that given their ideological force, no one can seriously claim to be against 'development', 'participation', and so on (Turton 1987). Although this allows for a certain creativity on the part of many individuals within and between the various groups, the negative consequences of this apparent smoothness can be frustrating at best and destructive at worst. In other words, the semantic creativity among some allows for relations to continue between the various groups, it does not on the whole, however, have the intended effect nor the effect which could be reached.

As we have seen one of the axes of development projects on which many institutions base their work is that of 'knowledge'. There is the assumption that 'beneficiaries' require their knowledge

in order to achieve the change intended by development workers. There is a further assumption in the postulated lack of knowledge by beneficiaries. It is as if they are sometimes perceived as a tabula rasa on which the 'right' knowledge is to be inscribed. Contrarily, whatever pre-existing beliefs and practices may be held to be present are categorised as 'superstition' and 'ignorance'.

As we have seen, however, knowledge within the communities is extensive and intricate. Moreover, it is a knowledge which is ontological, in the sense that it is an intrinsic part of the life of communities. Being a campesino means having this type of knowledge. To know how, in a sense, is to know how to be in the world. Displacing this type of knowledge constitutes changing the very nature of communities. Ignoring this knowledge is tantamount to an unwillingness or an inability to start from that very reality of campesino life, so often talked about. In opposition to this the type of knowledge is an externally produced knowledge advocated by development workers. It is a prescriptive knowledge, in the sense that it is geared towards solving perceived problems. Furthermore, it is packaged, commoditized and extendable while the other is secret and contractable.

However, as we have seen, communication does take place, albeit on the surface, and despite the clash between the types of knowledge. Similarly, at the local level, dialogues do take place without a questioning of meaning and assumptions. An engineer from a Government project which was trying to introduce a new crop, coleworts, for cultivation was told while visiting a community that yes, they wanted him to work with them. This did not mean however,

I was later told by a man of the community, they would necessarily wish to plant coleworts in their fields.

The crops planted in that area are mainly potato and maize. Planting these is in accord with local practices even though it may not solve their economic deficiencies. It is a practice which copes more efficiently with uncertainty: for example as described in Chapter Two by planting on different ecological levels, or on the same level but planting at intervals of one to two weeks. Agricultural projects such as that of the engineer mentioned above choose crops which are part of a different agricultural discursive practice - namely crops chosen for their high nutritional quality and large scale production possibilities. This agricultural practice responds to a technical means of improving a situation. The first part of the above conversation would seem to imply to development workers that the campesinos have accepted the implications and assumptions behind their having coleworts grown in the area. The later perceived 'failure' in terms of lack of coleworts planted in the area would then be interpreted as being due to the 'ignorance' of 'beneficiaries'.

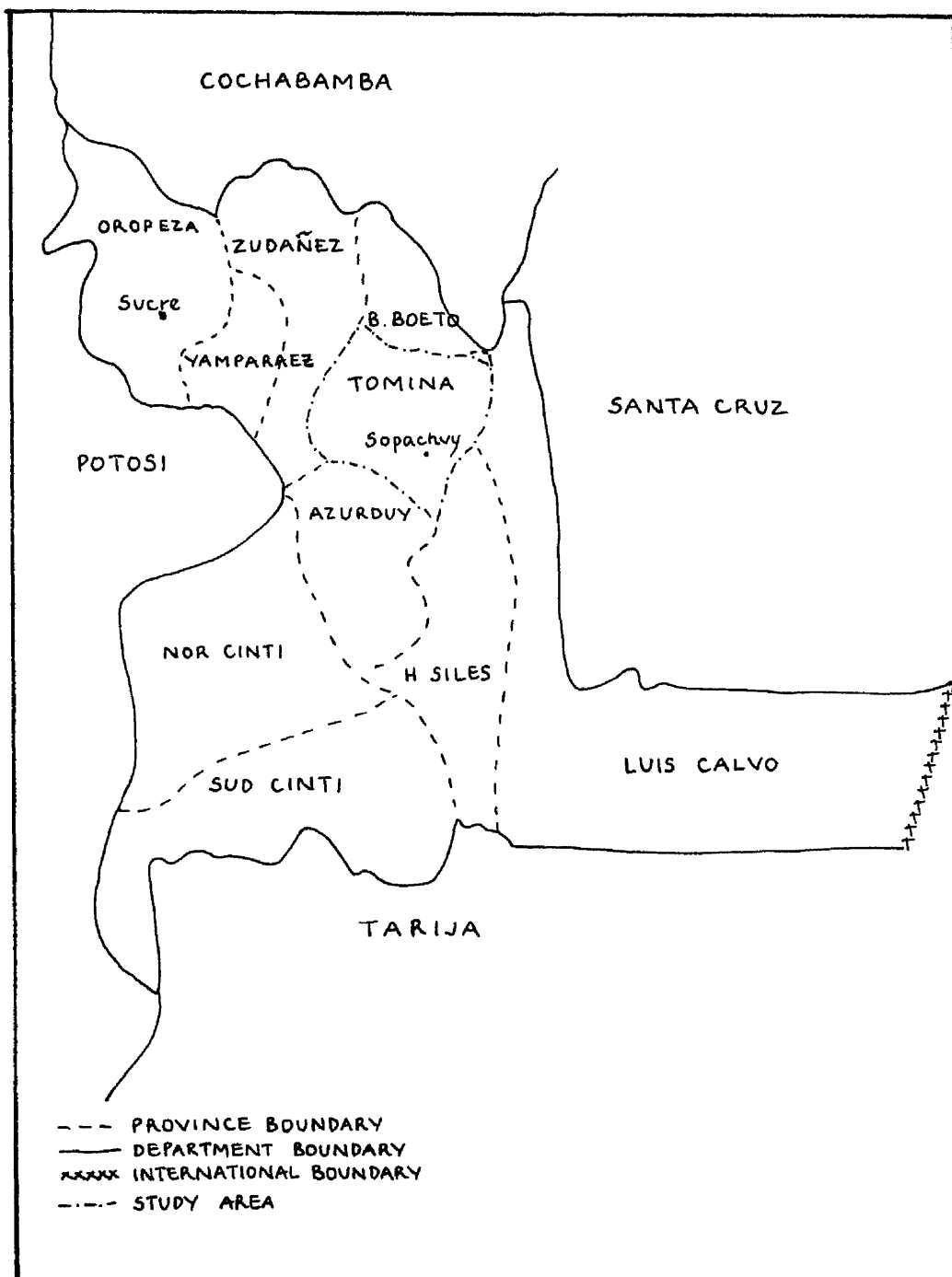
Identifying with the work and concerns of many development institutions represents for me an acknowledgement of their dedication towards improving the desparate material conditions of so many campesino communities. However, one of the major conclusions of this thesis suggests there is a strong need to examine further that realidad campesina which is so frequently discussed and understood solely in terms of material problems. These material problems cannot however be examined with criteria and assumptions which are alien to those whose problems are to be solved. The

material problems have a social and cultural context which should be given the importance it deserves. Material conditions need to improve, but so much more could be done by giving high priority to the context and local understanding of these conditions not only at the community level but also address these questions to the other levels described in the process of development. Present solutions of problems solely related to material needs exclude their context and local understanding. In this exclusion the very basis for communication is lost. The consequent miscommunicating discourse which superficially links all those engaged in the development process from campesinos to international donors then so frequently translates accounts of failures in terms of the attributes of the 'other'.

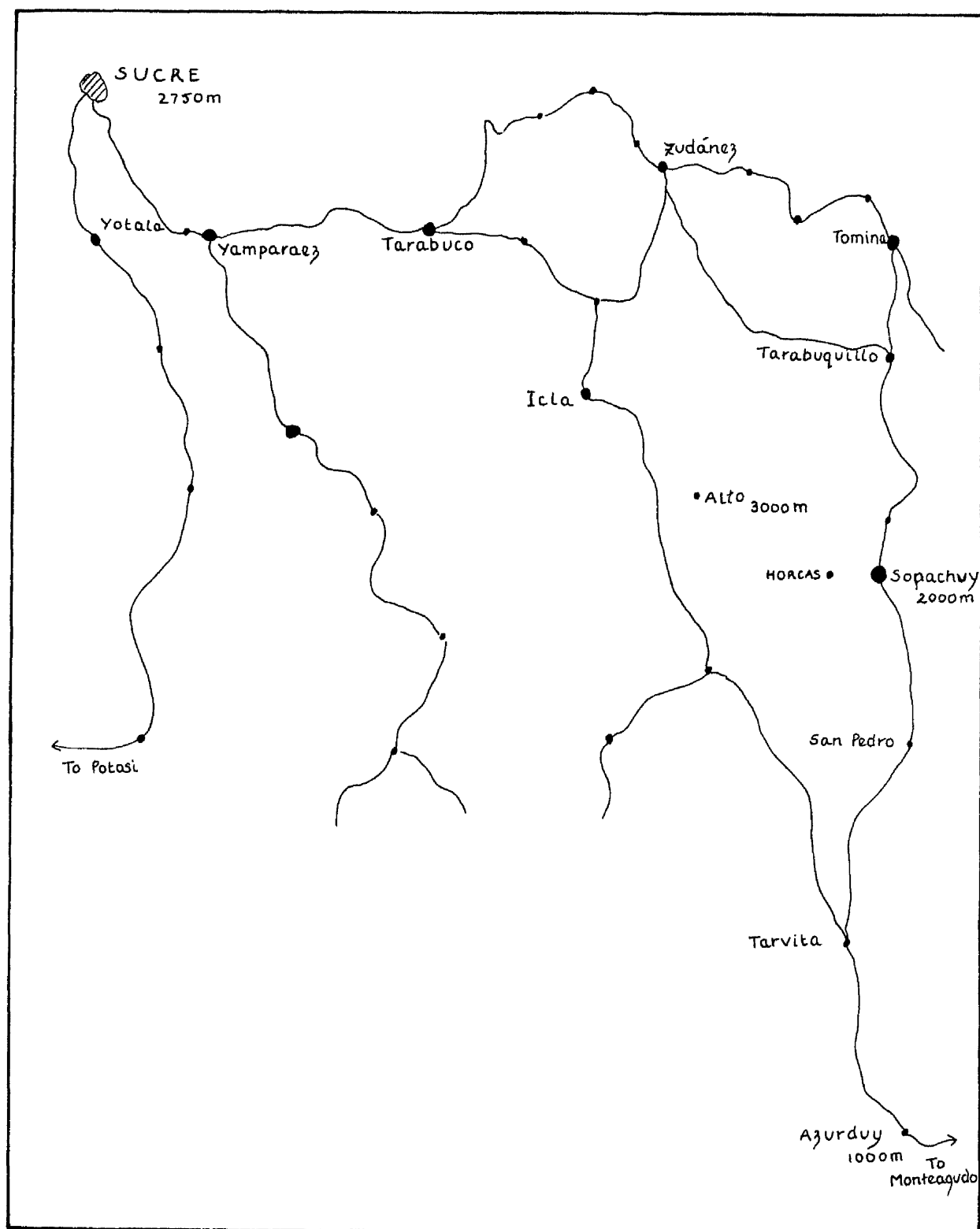
# BOLIVIA



# DEPARTMENT OF CHUQUISACA

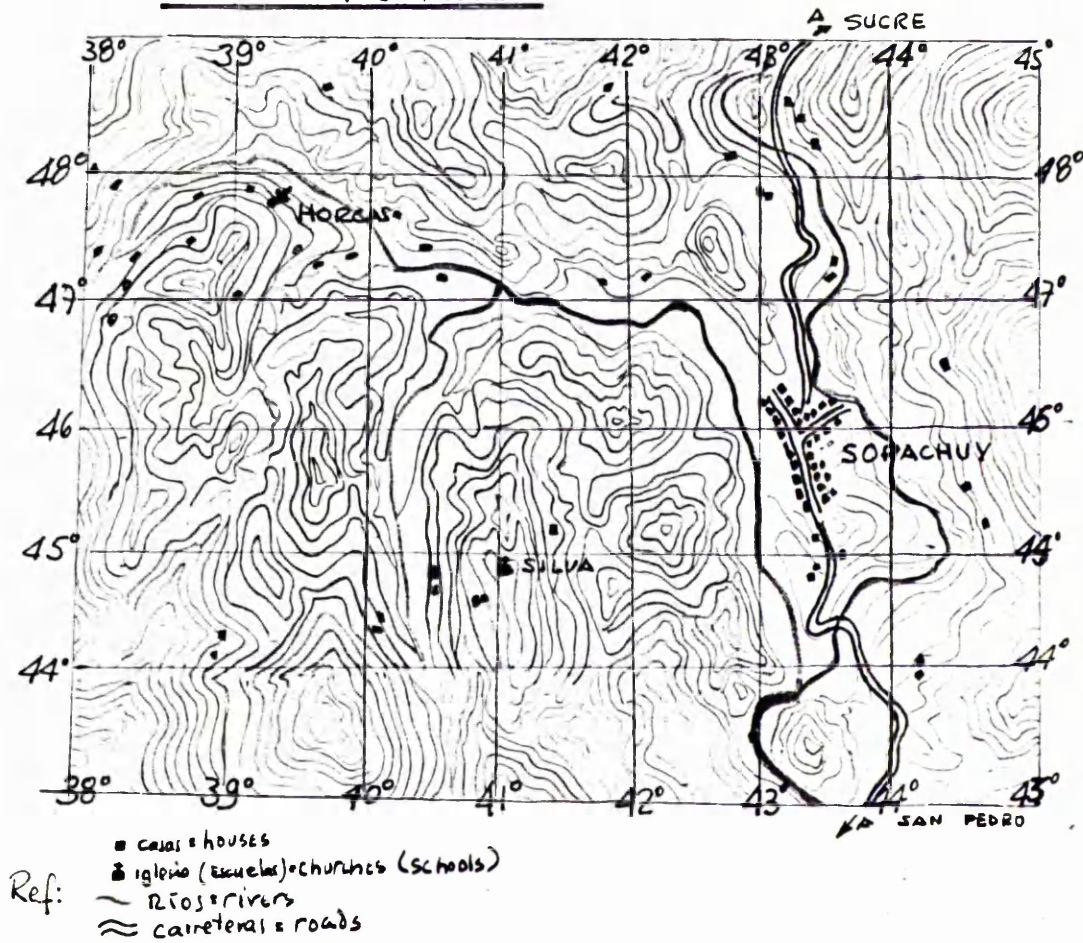


# ROAD MAP OF THE AREA





## FIELDWORK AREA



SCALE: 20cms = 5 kms

HOSPITAL VIRGEN DE REMEDIACION

SOPACHUY-CHUQUISACOMA  
SERVICIO DE RAYOS X

Appendix I

CHANGE AND WORLD VIEW IN ANDEAN ETHNOGRAPHY

Given the concern of this thesis with development, this critical review of the ethnographic literature on the Andes deals primarily with different categories of change as interpreted in ethnographic accounts. Attention is also paid to world views held by different Andean communities and their articulation with one another and with dominant groups.

Andeans are the largest group of Indians in the New World: 28 million Indians and mestizos live in the region (Bennett 1946:6). Bastien (1978) goes so far as to claim that roughly a fourth of the Indian population live as they did before the Spanish conquest. The latter spread across the mountains of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Northern Chile and Argentina. Five and a half million Andean Indians speak Quechua; 600,000 speak Aymara; 300,000 Araucanian; 100,000 another fifteen languages.

Broadly speaking, two main themes emerge from the ethnographic material. The first is that of change and the other preoccupation is that of the economy of the area.

For the literature on change, the influence of the Spanish conquest and present republican values on pre-conquest institutions are a common theme. Bastien (1978), for example, has found that pre-conquest institutions have survived because Indian communities managed to "wall themselves off from intrusive cultural influences", and because the force of cultural intrusion stimulated cultural resistance. Le

Barre and Nunez del Prado refer to cultural resistance based on "crypto-paganism" and rejection of Christianity. Bandelier (1904) also links the intensity of paganism directly to attempts at its suppression.

Within this theme is a tendency to regard Andean metaphysics as based on a "unity composed of a highly differentiated system of dualities the parts of which are united through the dialectical mesh of binary oppositions" (Taussig 1979:161). Bastien writes that in the Andes "almost everything is understood in juxtaposition to its opposite". The Buechlers suggest that the "natural properties and existence of any one thing are the result of its place in pattern". These are relations not of causality, but of mutuality (1971:90). Such an approach has, of course, been used in other parts of the world and it remains questionable whether the applicability of a structural model has been fully shown.

In the second theme, that of the economics of the Andes, the explanations in some accounts give almost sole consideration to economic traits, and neglect others. As Bastien protests, 'verticality' is not an adequate explanation for ayllu solidarity, nor does it explain basic Andean patterns. Taussig's (1979) explanation discussed further below relies on the notion of fusion of two distinct modes of production. Although Nash, at times appears not to focus on economic factors, when it comes to the analysis of changing patterns of family beliefs and values she does so from an economic basis. Barbara Bradby's account of two communities in Peru is made on the basis of their modes of production. Similarly, Olivia Harris dwells quite heavily on what she calls the "ethnic economy" of the Laymis of Northern Potosi and the

extent to which they are integrated into a market economy. Tristan Platt's study of the Macha community in Northern Potosi is a rejection of the view that low levels of production and market participation are related to "traditionalism" of the Andean peasant.

Bastien (1978) studied the Kaata, a community of 205 families in mid-West Bolivia, north-east of lake Titicaca. He argues for the primacy of a key metaphor of mountains, used by this community for their social organisation and for explaining their world view. He suggests it also extends across other Andean communities and gives these a cultural understanding of their lineage and marriage principles. He claims it was used before the Spanish conquest and is still used today. The mountain has a unifying meaning for Kaatans. Rituals dealing with sickness, death, lineage and land are centred around the mountain metaphor. For example, sickness is cured symbolically by putting the body of the mountain together. The summit of the mountain is the head, the central slopes the chest and shoulders, the divergence of two rivers as crotch and legs, lakes are the eyes, and the heart and guts are beneath the earth where potatoes and oca (a local food crop) grow.

According to Bastien (1978), marriage involves the exchange of spouses between geographically low, middle and high communities on Kaata mountainsides. The woman crosses levels to live with the husband, but the daughter returns to the mother's level to regain access to inheritance. The man remains on the land of his ancestors. It is unclear how far this ideal is found in practice.

Marriage rituals gather people and produce from three levels of the mountain to symbolise that marriage unites the people of the mountain. Although each ethnic group is spread out, two factors are

said to unify them: verticality and the ayllu. Verticality is held to be an underlying principle of Andean social, political and economic organisation. Andean civilisations arose through successful efforts to control as many vegetational zones as possible and provide variety of produce. Mechanisms for vertical control include indigenous colonisation, seasonal migration, resource exchange and kinship relations (Murra 1972:429). Thus, verticality is the control of distant and diverse vegetational zones. The institution of ayllu in its various forms is said to have survived economic and political changes of the Incas, Spaniards and Republicans. Bastien describes the ayllu as a corporate group which includes the principle, of verticality and the use of a mountain metaphor.

Bastien suggests that a conception of territory and communities based on anatomical paradigms of animals and people has enabled Andean communities to maintain cultural unity despite external political forces. Since the conquest, foreigners have defined ayllu Kaata in terms of their own interests and perceptions. During the seventeenth century, local government turned the Kaata area into a hacienda; in the nineteenth century, Republicans made ayllu Kaata part of the administrative district of Charazani (the nearest town); in the twentieth century the Agrarian Reform Commission insisted that communities be autonomous. They were forced to define their boundaries, elect secretaries and establish economic links with Charazani and La Paz. This resulted in communities feuding over boundaries, exchanging fewer resources and decreasing their ties through marriage.

Bastien claims that diviners have led a significant role in perpetuating cultural solidarity. They use coca leaves in various rituals and for divination. Their legends and rituals represent the mountain as the human body. They serve earth shrines for all three levels of Mount Katta, and use produce for their rituals from these three levels too. Chicha (alcohol) is produced on the lower levels, animal blood and fat from the middle levels, and llama foetuses from the higher. When diviners 'feed' the mountain, they 'symbolise' it as a human body. Bastien writes "more than rhetoric and imagery, metaphor cements together the mosaic of ayllu Kaata, apparently falling apart from economic and political forces of foreigners" (1978:37). He suggests that Kaatan religion is not conceptual but a metaphorical relationship with land. Kaatans do not feed the mountain to appease it; they feed it fat and blood to vitalise and give it power. there is no dualism of material and spiritual; Kaatan ritual does not intercede with the spiritual on behalf of the material, rather it combines both terms in one.

Following a similar theme June Nash (1979) considers the influence of modern Western industrialisation on the traditional culture of Quechua and Aymara Indians. She too claims that traditional values have been retained despite external political and economic forces. In fact, she argues that cultural tradition has been made easier by retention of traditional values in family life, community affairs, social interaction and religious beliefs.

Her study focusses on a Bolivian tin mining town. Participation in national, political and economic institutions for Indians was limited due to poverty and lack of the necessary education. By entering the

mines they could at least have the "illusion" of a better standard of living. In a mining town the cultural influences are multiple and often "contradictory". Nash suggests there is a basic dualism in miners' world views: "upper and lower worlds", upper relates to Christian deities and lower to pre-conquest spirits. During the colonial period and since the Republic, missionaries, governors, viceroys and current leaders have tried to create dissonance between their own views and indigenous world views. Nash suggests that miners have encapsulated these widely disparate, "apparently contradictory ideologies" in a "unitary world view" by separating out and assigning a separate place, time and context in which each is appropriate. Pachamama (the Earth Goddess) is sometimes identified as the Virgin Mary, and the Supay or Tio (oddly in Spanish, meaning uncle - Lord of the Hills) can be identified with what Christians call the Devil. Ritual cycles are structured on two axes: on the one hand they deal with agriculture, the earth and Pachamama, and on the other with mining, the underground and supay. The ceremony of offering to the supay or tio - the Ch'alla - is performed on the first Friday of each month. More elaborate performances are carried out on the first Friday of August (the month of the Devil) and the Friday of Carnival. In the ordinary Ch'alla offerings of coca, liquor and cigarettes are made. In the others, miners buy white llamas or sheep, kill them and make offerings of their blood; bones wrapped in white and red wool are buried in the mine, and the blood is splashed at the entrance of the mine. The flesh is eaten. In return for offerings, men ask Tio for richer veins of mineral and plead for their own live and their security. Through these rituals a restoration and appeasement is made by which human and natural forces

are kept in balance. Animal sacrifices redress any imbalance which may have been caused by mining. Offerings of blood to Tio keeps him from unleashing destructive forces. Nash suggests that these activities give miners a sense of their position in an economy of mining and helps them avoid the alienation typical of industrial workers by tying them to their agricultural past and to their relatives and neighbours who remain in agriculture.

Belief and behaviour in family life have changed among mining families, according to Nash's comparison with Indian agricultural communities. She makes this comparison on economic grounds. Children are no longer considered an economic advantage, however, little is done to prevent conception. Women are the central force in maintaining continuity in family life. This is accounted for by the high incidence of deaths or desertion by the father. The basis for a man's relation to his family, she suggests, is his capacity to earn money. Marital betrothal as opposed to the Indian custom where the parents made arrangements, are initiated by the couple. Since there is no expectation of inheritance in land, miners do not defer to their parents. She notes that the major reasons for friction within the family relate to money matters. Compadrazgo relations illustrate the adaptive potential of this "fractured genealogical system". Often aspirations to gain admission into a different socio-economic class will be expressed in the choosing of people of that class as the god-parents. Compadrazgo provides an alliance with the dominant culture. Generally, rites of passage: baptism, confirmation and marriage require formal alliance of compadrazgo.



Taussig (1979) approaches this theme in Bolivian tin mines from a somewhat different angle. He examines how the 'Devil' was brought to South America with European imperialism and blended with pagan deities and metaphysical systems. According to him, the tensions between European and indigenous metaphysical systems and the different socio-economic systems become mediated by the image of the Devil and the mythology of redemption. He argues that the role of the Devil in folklore and rituals associated with production in mines, is different from the adjoining peasant areas. Within the process of 'proletarianisation' (as occurring in the mines) the Devil emerges as a complex image which mediates opposed ways of viewing human significance within the economy. He writes: "The fetishism of evil, in the image of the Devil, is an image which mediates the conflict between pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of objectifying the human condition" (1979:xii).

Contrary to Nash, Taussig interprets religious beliefs and practices as changing during the colonial period, thereby reflecting a new situation rather than maintaining them as a means of coping with the transition into a new system.

In the shafts of the mines around Oruro (a mining city), miners have statues representing the spirit who owns the mines and tin. Known as Devil or Tio, these icons vary in size and appearance, for example, in Siglo XX mine it appears as a blond, bearded, red-faced gringo wearing a cowboy hat, resembling technicians and administrators who control thousands of miners. The spirit owner of the mines is extraordinarily ambivalent representing the force of life and death; as the political and economic context changes, so does his ambivalence.

Without the good will of this spirit, assured through ritual, both mineral production and miners' lives are said to be imperilled. Following the 1953 nationalisation of the mines, personalistic private ownership was replaced by a bureaucratic control. Since the 1964 military takeover miners' rites to the spirit owner of the mines have been suppressed on the grounds that they are incompatible with "progress". Taussig explains that some miners agree, while others think management suppresses them because they sustain proletarian solidarity. It is unclear how far this terminology reflects miners' perceptions.

He argues that each in the mode of production, and with the new development of a political struggle, new meanings and transformations are added to the symbolisation and understanding of the spirit owner of nature. The spirit owner of nature in peasant communities also holds power over life and death, but does not have the active "evil character of the spirit of the mines", and the rites to these are less frequent. In peasant life, spirit owners are embodied in natural icons (crags or boulders), whose vitality and wholeness ensure the vitality and solidarity of the community. Rites ensure the smooth flow of production, aimed at self-subsistence. He suggests that the more isolated a community is from commercial trade the more benevolent is the understanding of spirit owners. But it is only in the mines "mountains of capitalist organisation", that the spirit owner seems to be predominantly and actively evil. This is why rites to the spirit are necessary and frequent. Although rites are prohibited, miners still continue to hold them, even if on a smaller scale. Unfortunately, quite what 'evil' consists of is far from clear.

Rites to Tiq, according to Taussig's interpretation allow men to approach the spirit through the mediation of a sacrificial victim. "Peace can be purchased in this manner". They are not only made for preventing accidents but also to increase the prosperity of the mine.

Miners have deserted the ways of a peasant life to enter the "unnatural economy of wage labour; now they gut the mountain of previous metals". Their imminent destruction is prevented by the action of an Inca princess whom miners publicly celebrate. According to this legend, the Inca King and Indian universe were destroyed by the Spanish for the sake of metals and Christianity. The Inca nobility placed a curse on precious metals causing them to disappear. Those who seek them out must know why it is difficult and what it means to persist; and yet they are forced to do so. The Tiq is said to be the custodian over Indian submission and loss of control over life. The legend is said to end with a non-acceptance of the prevailing world, and the knowledge that the Inca will return and the legacy of Pizarro (the early Spanish Conqueror) destroyed.

Taussig's interpretation is a quite different reading from that of Nash, and stems from the juxtaposition of two cultures and modes of production. Indigenous and conquest cultures have fused to form an "antagonistic structure of oppositions". This fusion is an active and dynamic process which produces ambiguities. For example, the Devil in the mines is not identical to the Devil of late Medieval Christianity, and can be seen as ally as much as foe.

As described by Bastien (1978), in Kaata it is said that a person originates from a mountain peak and after death will return to it. Their grave sites remain shrines for rites, and ritual specialists

are said to gain their power from these sites. The peasants own the mountain with which their community is identified and are in turn owned by it. But for miners, Taussig argues, who neither control their work nor own the mountain, their rituals illuminate a different pattern of exchange. For the miners, iconography of nature has undergone a significant historical transformation in the emergence of the Devil owner of the mines.

"With the conquest, Indian culture absorbed but also transformed Christian mythology. The image of the spirit of evil and the mythology of redemption were refashioned to give poetic expression to the needs of the oppressed. Christian symbols came to mediate the conflict between opposed civilisations and between conflicting ways of apprehending reality. With the advance of capitalist production, as in the mines today, the contested terrain has expanded to include the meaning of work and things promoted by the capitalist vision of the world, especially its fetishisation of commodities and devitalisation of persons" (Taussig 1979:227)

It could be argued that too much emphasis has been given to the theme of mediation of "conflict between opposed civilisations". Although some authors argue the theme from different angles, there is a tendency to analyse communities as being almost homogenous, that is, as having remained pre-conquest as opposed to having changed in colonial or republican times. They are often viewed as if no heterogeneity within each were possible. It is also not made clear whether one is dealing with logical contradictions of principles, competition for scarce resources, political domination, or different paradigms. There appears also to be the assumption in Taussig that symbols can and do mediate 'conflict'. However, for conflict to be present a certain common ground on which to conflict on may be necessary. He also uses the

metaphor 'contested terrain' which holds a similar implication, with which he does not deal adequately. His analysis expands from conflicting economic factors to symbolic meaning, in the sense that symbols can mediate the former. The implication here would appear to be that both sides (that is the "opposed civilisations") should perceive this mediation, at least to some extent, but the evidence for this is not clear.

Sallnow (1982) in his analysis of patterns of religious processes in a Central Andean locality (in Peru) presents a more fluid and complex interpretation. He shows the extent to which patterns of contemporary Catholic devotion may be seen as the outcome of a "continuous historical process whereby successive religious elites have sought to impose their dominion and to domesticate and control local religious expression" (1982:746). He focusses on three neighbouring Catholic shrines to exemplify processes whereby popular cults "patterned according to Andean cosmology are variously officialised, stifled or controlled by emergent cultural elites" (1982:730). Sallnow thus allows for a multiplicity of views, moving away from an essentialist position.

Similarly, H. Buechler (1980) argues that the fiesta system can be regarded as a medium of communication and expression, rather than a mechanism of overt or latent social and economic control. In arguing against rituals as normative statements, he suggests they allow much more choice than generally realised. Information is transmitted on two inter-connected levels: through differences in participation in fiestas, and differential application and alteration of fiesta rules. On both these levels individuals can display their positions within the

community. furthermore, the whole community or parts of it can represent their changing mutual relationships. For example, the degree to which sponsors fulfil the expectation associated with their roles varies from individual to individual. The variance in turn is interpreted by participants as an index of the sponsor's capacity and willingness to fulfil his obligations, which in turn generates information about his standing in the community. The cost involved will also be proportionate to the importance of the sponsor within the community. What transpires from Buechler's study is the extent to which institutions have been transformed and adapted depending on certain circumstances. His study reflects the adaptability of fiestas to different contexts. For example he notes differences between fiestas in rural and urban areas; differences in fiestas performed before the land reform and after; differences between fiestas with a large number of mestizo participation. In other words, his study has wider perspectives than an approach merely in terms of conflicting civilizations.

Bradby deals with a similar issue, but on a different theme. In her account of two communities in Peru, she argues that the distinction between two modes of production cannot be justified. She claims that in the provinces of the Peruvian Andes one can find examples of virtually every form of production: multi-national mining corporations, large scale farming for world markets, traditional haciendas, State capitalism with some form of worker participation, petty commodity production around urban and mining centres, share cropping and various pre-capitalist rent schemes right down to communal forms of labour in communities. One of the communities she studied strengthened its ties

with the larger cities by more intense production of fast crops and through labour migration. This community was linked with an ideology of progress through development, and a rejection of old community practices (fiestas). This was the kind of ideology promoted by the Government of Velasco Alvarado in 1972. The second community showed little interest in the new structure of communities as laid out by Velasco Alvarado. They continued with their traditional religious and cultural activities. In the first community pre-capitalist forms of production tended to strengthen capitalist ones, rather than be opposed to them.

Harris (1982) also suggests that the Laymis of Northern Potosi (in Bolivia) are in part integrated into a market economy and yet have also retained what she calls an "ethnic economy" which incorporates a high degree of ecological and geographical specialisation, without involving an indigenous development of a market system of exchange of specialised produce. Labour prestation without explicit calculation of return, according to Harris, is a widespread institution in the rural Andes. This labour prestation, known as *yanapana*, includes work done for close kin and for the fulfilment of formal obligations between godparents and godchildren. Assumptions of obligations are phrased in terms of general social duties, not in terms of direct reciprocation of previous labour prestations. She argues for the need to examine the circulation of labour and produce among the Laymis so as to understand their economy and the importance of their "ethnic boundaries". However, choice of these categories or model of analysis may present problems. One could argue that an attempt to understand their "economy" (it is not clear whether this is an 'emic' category) might blur a fuller

understanding of the Laymis. Similarly "ethnic boundaries" - when and where the Laymis may choose to recognise other cultures - may depend on how relevant such recognition may be at certain times. In other words, their own internal relations could be relevant, and would thus not necessarily be linked or dependent on 'economic' decisions. She seems to assume that their limited participation in the market system is related to low economic benefits resulting from such participation. Laymis may alter their relationship with the market depending on self-perception or perceptions of outsiders at a particular time.

Platt (1982) in his account of the Macha of Northern Potosi (in Bolivia) rejects the view that low levels of production and market participation are related to "traditionalism" of the Andean peasant. He suggests that certain features of Northern Potosi ayllu organisation are functional for the reproduction of smallscale peasant production within present Bolivian capitalism. The precise mechanisms of surplus extraction have varied in different periods. In the seventeenth century, ayllu lords were able to develop commercial activities on a large scale due to access to community labour prestations and the variety of ecological levels. Even today, says Platt, those able to combine agricultural cycles of the highlands and valleys have higher levels of production, consumption and sales.

The three areas of farming activity among peasants of Northern Potosi correspond to three ecological tiers:

1. High Andean herding (4,200-4,600 metres above sea level);
2. Puna (high altitude) agriculture (3,500-4,200 metres); and
3. Valley agriculture (2,00-3,500 metres).



Diversification across the differing tiers is done in order to create multiple resources. It is also a strategy to survive the uncertainties of Andean climate. Thus, peasant holdings consist of numerous highly fragmented plots of land. Platt notes that technical observers and experts often consider this system "irrational". For example, the distribution by the Government of hacienda lands (during the land reform) in integrated plots resulted in lengthy litigation processes as new title holders redistributed their land once again in order to recover their "multiple resources bases". Traditionally, access to land is mediated by each household's membership of a community or ayllu. Patrilineal rules govern land inheritance. Inheritance and marriage act as mechanisms for land distribution. Thus, Platt argues these features of ayllu organisation are closely related to the reproduction of small-scale peasant production within the prevailing conditions of Bolivian capitalism.

An important consideration that emerges from a review of this material is that the structuring of models and the setting up of problems appear to determine or deeply influence the kind of accounts that emerge and the way they are organised. Taussig, for example, sets out to compare a pre-capitalist view of the world together with a pre-capitalist mode of production with that of the miners, who willy nilly have become part of capitalist production. In order to make this comparison he has classified these in terms of "culture of conquest" and "indigenous culture". This kind of classification ignores much of the fine-grained accounts of Sallnow and Bradby. Furthermore, it neglects any internal conflicts that may exist within each of these two 'cultures' and the way that any articulations are made within and

between each. He also appears to be making a Christian interpretation of 'sacrifice'. He suggests it takes on a mediatory role between miners and spirits together with a plea for safety and prosperity. However, if one applied Girard's (1977) notion of sacrifice, that is, the expurgation of violence from a given community through the sacrificial victim, perhaps the interpretation of Taussig's material would acquire a new meaning.

June Nash's categorisation also begs several questions. The idea of a traditional culture being a mediating factor in the economic transition of a mining community, leaves one wondering to what exactly this refers. She speaks of culture, rather like Taussig, as if referring to some kind of uniformity. She appears not to allow for any internal disagreements or changes that might have occurred. Pre-conquest traditions had been changing even before contact with Spain, as has been clearly shown by Murra (1975), speaking of the pre-Inca ayllu. She also does not clearly state whether her interpretations are hers alone, or to what extent they reflect the miners' interpretations.

Bastien's account of the mountain metaphor may be criticised on similar grounds. He presents it as a unified Kaata world view and perhaps neglects the important role diviners may have in presenting and interpreting this metaphor through rituals. He gives no account of the way interpretations of the metaphor may have altered over time and in different situations. And unfortunately he gives little account of the use of metaphor more generally by the Quechua and Aymara speaking people living in the communities he studied.

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